Benjamin J. Ribbens

Levitical Sacrifice and Heavenly Cult in Hebrews

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For Sarah
εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἀναστήσω αὐτὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τῇ ἐσχατῃ ἡμέρᾳ
(John 6:40)

For Whitney
τίνα εὐχαριστίαν δύναμαι τῷ θεῷ ἀνταποδοῦναι περὶ σοῦ
ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ χαρᾷ ᾗ χαίρω δι’ σέ;
(1 Thess 3:9)

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March 31, 2016 Benjamin J. Ribbens

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List of Abbreviations

1 En.	*1 Enoch*
2 Bar.	*2 Baruch*
2 En.	*2 Enoch*
3 Bar.	*3 Baruch*
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*
Abraham	*On the Life of Abraham*
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ALD	*Aramaic Levi Document*. Edited by Jonas Greenfield, Michael Stone, and Esther Eshel. Boston, 2004
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
Alleg. Interp.	*Allegorical Interpretation*
AM	Abhandlungen zur Moraltheologie
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der romischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*. Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin, 1972–
Ant.	*Jewish Antiquities*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
Apoc. Ab.	*Apocalypse of Abraham*
AUM	Andrews University Monographs
AUUHR	Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Historia religionum
AUUSSU	Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Semitica Upsaliensia
BasST	Basel Studies of Theology
BBR	*Bulletin for Biblical Research*
BDAG	Bauer, W., F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd ed. Chicago, 1999
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. Stuttgart, 1983
Bib	*Biblica*
BibU	Biblische Untersuchungen
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BJSUC	Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego
BR	*Biblical Research*
BSac	*Bibliotheca sacra*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CCWJCW	Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World, 200 BC to AD 200
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
CFTL	Clark's Foreign Theological Library

CGTSC	Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges
CQS	Companion to the Qumran Scrolls
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSCO	Corpus scriptorium christianorum orientalium. Edited by I. B. Chabot et al. Paris, 1903–
CTJ	*Calvin Theological Journal*
CUASCA	Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity
Decalogue	*On the Decalogue*
Diss.	Dissertation
Dreams	*On Dreams*
Drunkenness	*On Drunkenness*
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EBib	Etudes bibliques
ECDSS	Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls
EDNT	*Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament.* Edited by H. Balz, G. Schneider. ET. Grand Rapids, 1990–1993
EH	Europäische Hochschulschriften
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
Embassy	*On the Embassy to Gaius*
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
FB	Forschung zur Bibel
Flaccus	*Against Flaccus*
Flight	*On Flight and Finding*
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GAP	Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
Giants	*On Giants*
God	*On God*
Good Person	*That Every Good Person Is Free*
GOTR	*Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
GSC	Geneva Series Commentary
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
Heir	*Who Is the Heir?*
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HNTC	Harper's New Testament Commentaries
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
Int	*Interpretation*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion*
JCC	Jewish Culture and Contexts
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
Jos. Asen.	*Joseph and Aseneth*
Joseph	*On the Life of Joseph*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*

JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
JTECL	Jewish Traditions in Early Christian Literature
JTI	*Journal of Theological Interpretation*
JU	Judentum und Umwelt
Jub.	*Jubilees*
J.W.	*Jewish War*
KD	*Kerygma und Dogma*
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer-Kommentar)
KNT	Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
KRS	Kairos religionswissenschaftliche Studien
L.A.E.	*Life of Adam and Eve*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
Let. Aris.	*Letter of Aristeas*
LHB/OTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LLJC	Littman Library of Jewish Civilization
LNTS	Library of New Testament Series
LQHR	*London Quarterly and Holborn Review*
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, H. S. Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford, 1996
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
LumVie	*Lumière et vie*
LXX	Septuagint
LXXG	*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*, 24 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931–
LXXR	*Septuaginta*. Edited by Alfred Rahlfs. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1979
MBPS	Mellen Biblical Press Series
MCNT	Meyer's Commentaries on the New Testament
Migration	*On the Migration of Abraham*
MM	Moulton, J. H., and G. Milligan. *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament.* London, 1930. Reprint, Peabody, MA, 1997
Moses	*On the Life of Moses*
MPT	*Monatsschrift für Pastoraltheologie*
MT	Masoretic Text
MTS	Müchener theologische Studien
NA27	*Novum Testamentum Graece*. Edited by Barbara Aland et al. 27th rev. ed. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 2001
Names	*On the Change of Names*
Neot	*Neotestamentica*
NETS	*A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. Edited by Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007
NIBC	New International Biblical Commentary
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament

NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIVAC	NIV Application Commentary
NKZ	*Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NRTh	*La nouvelle revue théologique*
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
NSC	Nichol's Series of Commentaries
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTC	New Testament Commentary
NTL	New Testament Library
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTTh	New Testament Theology
OG	Old Greek
OTP	*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Edited by J. H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. Garden City, NY, 1983
Paideia	Paideia Commentaries on the New Testament
PBM	Paternoster Biblical Monographs
Planting	*On Planting*
PNTC	Pillar New Testament Commentary
PMS	Patristic Monograph Series
Posterity	*On the Posterity of Cain*
Prelim. Studies	*On the Preliminary Studies*
Providence	*On Providence*
PRSt	*Perspectives in Religious Studies*
PrThMS	Princeton Theological Monograph Series
Pss. Sol.	*Psalms of Solomon*
PTSDSSP	Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Grace
QE	*Questions and Answers on Exodus*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RCT	*Revista de cultura bí*blica
Readings	Readings: A New Biblical Commentary
ResQ	*Restoration Quarterly*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
Rewards	*On Rewards and Punishments*
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*
RRef	*La revue réformée*
RTR	*Reformed Theological Review*
Sacrifices	*On the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel*
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SBJT	*Southern Baptist Journal of Theology*
SBLABib	Society of Biblical Literature Academia Biblica
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSP	*Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*

ScrHier	Scripta hierosolymitana
SCS	Septuagint Commentary Series
SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
Sem	*Semitica*
SGJC	Shared Ground among Jews and Christians
Sib. Or.	*Sibylline Oracles*
SIBG	Studies in Biblical Greek
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra pagina
Spec. Laws	*On the Special Laws*
SPhilo	*Studia philonica*
SS	Studies in Scripture
StBiTh	Studies in Biblical Theology
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPB	Studia post-biblica
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrpahica
T. Ab.	*Testament of Abraham*
T. Benj.	*Testament of Benjamin*
T. Gad	*Testament of Gad*
T. Jud.	*Testament of Judah*
T. Levi	*Testament of Levi*
T. Reu.	*Testament of Reuben*
TBl	*Theologische Blätter*
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.* Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, 1964–1976
TGST	Tesi Gregoriana: Serie Teologia
TJ	*Trinity Journal*
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TSK	Theologische Studien und Kritiken
TT/PS	Texts and Translations/Pseudepigrapha Series
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
UBSHS	UBS Handbook Series
VD	*Verbum domini*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
Worse	*That the Worse Attacks the Better*
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Alten und Neuen Testament
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentare
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

1 The Efficacy of Levitical Sacrifice Compared to Christ's Sacrifice in Hebrews

Hebrews uses several comparisons between the old and new covenants to demonstrate that the new covenant inaugurated by Jesus is superior to the old covenant: the message spoken by the "Son" is superior to that spoken by the prophets (1:1–4); the Son is superior to the angels (1:5–14; 2:5–18); Jesus is greater than Moses (3:1–6); Jesus's priesthood is superior to Aaron's and the Levites' (4:14–5:10; 7:1–28; 8:6); the heavenly sanctuary is greater and more perfect than the earthly sanctuary (8:4–6; 9:1–5, 11); the new covenant is better than the old (7:22; 8:6–13) and contains a better hope (7:19) and better promises (8:6); and Christ's sacrifice is better than animal sacrifices (9:1–10:14). The comparison of sacrifices is the culmination of Hebrews's comparisons, as it incorporates and is built upon previous comparisons. Christ, the high priest after the order of Melchizedek, offers a sacrifice of his own blood in the heavenly tabernacle, thereby inaugurating the new covenant, and his sacrifice is better than the animal sacrifices offered under the old covenant by the levitical high priest in the earthly tabernacle.

To compare the old covenant animal sacrifices with the new covenant sacrifice of Christ, the author of Hebrews must establish several points of continuity that indicate a legitimate comparison of similar things. For this reason, Hebrews goes to great lengths to pattern Christ's sacrifice after the Day of Atonement, which, because it is the supreme atoning sacrifice, functions synecdochically to represent all atoning sacrifices. Since only the levitical high priest could perform the Day of Atonement rituals, Hebrews argues that Christ is a high priest after the order of Melchizedek (4:14–5:10; 7:1–28). Just as the levitical high priest passed through the tabernacle to enter the earthly Holy of Holies (9:7), so Christ passed through the heavenly tabernacle to enter the heavenly Holy of Holies (9:11–12). Jesus offered blood, just like the earthly high priest, to achieve purification (9:13–14), and, as the Day of Atonement was once a year, so Jesus's sacrifice was once-for-all (ἅπαξ/ἐφάπαξ; 9:7, 12, 26–28).[1]

Yet, in the midst of this continuity, Hebrews also must establish several points of discontinuity to ultimately conclude that Christ's sacrifice is *better* than the old covenant sacrifices. Christ's sacrifice was not merely analogous to, but better than, levitical sacrifices. Several discontinuities are apparent with-

1 New Testament Greek references and textual abbreviations used in the present study are taken from the NA27.

in the particulars of the parallel sacrifices: (1) Christ's sacrifice is in the heavenly sanctuary as opposed to the earthly (9:11–12); (2) Christ offers his own blood as opposed to the blood of animals (9:12–28); and (3) Christ's sacrifice is once-for-all rather than repeated (9:12, 26–28; 10:11–14). Still, these points of discontinuity are only significant because they result in superior efficacy. Christ's sacrifice is better than old covenant sacrifices because it accomplishes something that the old covenant sacrifices were not able to accomplish. Hebrews proclaims that the old covenant sacrifices were never able to perfect (τελειοῦν) the worshipers or their consciences (7:11, 19; 9:9; 10:1), they could not ultimately cleanse (καθαρίζειν) the one offering the sacrifice (10:2), and they were unable to take away sins (10:4,11) or the consciousness of sins (10:2). Christ's sacrifice, in contrast, cleanses (καθαρίζειν) the conscience (9:14), takes away sins (9:26, 28), and makes perfect (τελειοῦν) those being sanctified (10:14). Based on these contrasting statements, most scholars quickly conclude that Hebrews considers old covenant sacrifices to be unable to atone for and forgive sins in contrast to Christ's sacrifice, which accomplishes these salvific realities.[2]

1.1 Two Tensions in Hebrews's Cult Criticism

Hebrews's statements regarding the inefficacy of the levitical sacrifices are a sharp criticism of the levitical institution, and two considerations make the severity of Hebrews's cult criticism somewhat surprising and have led to negative evaluations of Hebrews's sacrifice theology.

2 For examples of scholars who draw this conclusion explicitly, see Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, trans. Chrysostom Baer (South Bend, IN: St. Augustine's Press, 2006), 443; Philipp Melanchthon, "Apology of the Augsburg Confession," in *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, trans. Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1959), 53; Theodore G. Stylianopoulos, "Shadow and Reality: Reflections on Hebrews 10:1–18," *GOTR* 17 (1972): 224–27; David Peterson, "The Prophecy of the New Covenant in the Argument of Hebrews," *RTR* 38 (1979): 74–81; Susan Haber, "From Priestly Torah to Christ Cultus: The Re-Vision of Covenant and Cult in Hebrews," *JSNT* 28 (2005): 119–21; Thomas R. Schreiner, *New Testament Theology: Magnifying God in Christ* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 386–87, 395–98, 666; Ole Jakob Filtvedt, *The Identity of God's People and the Paradox of Hebrews*, WUNT 2/400 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 157. The inability of levitical sacrifices to atone for or forgive sins is also a logical inference from proposals 1.2.1.1–6 below (see nn. 16–26).

1.1.1 Self-Contradictory Sacrifice Theology?

First, Hebrews's cult criticism is surprising based on the fact that Christ's sacrifice is patterned after the levitical sacrifices. One might expect the author to argue that Christ's sacrifice had efficacy after the pattern of the levitical sacrifices, but the author emphasizes the inability of the levitical sacrifices. As a result, many scholars have noted the tension between Hebrews's cult criticism and the employment of cultic imagery for Christ,[3] and A. J. M. Wedderburn goes so far as to conclude that Hebrews's sacrifice theology is self-contradictory. He picturesquely opens his article by stating, "It is not to be recommended when pruning or lopping trees: one should not saw off the branch on which one is sitting or supported."[4] Yet, Hebrews commits this exact error with its sacrifice theology according to Wedderburn. He argues that, based on Hebrews's adoption of cultic imagery, "one gets the impression that the earthly cult of the Old Testament is along the right lines and follows the right principles and valid ones, as indeed one might expect if it was ordained by God."[5] However, the author of Hebrews later concludes that the old covenant sacrifices could not take away sins (10:4) and that God did not take pleasure in sacrifice (Ps 40:6–8 in Heb 10:5–10). In light of these critiques, "it becomes harder to treat Jesus' offering of his body as in continuity with, and analogous to, those offerings, if indeed God wants nothing of the sort."[6] Thus, Hebrews, on the one hand, uses cultic imagery to explain the death of Christ, but, on the other hand, dismisses and criticizes the cult, thereby, as Wedderburn asserts, lopping off the branch it once sat on.[7]

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3 Ernest Findlay Scott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: Its Doctrine and Significance* (London: T&T Clark, 1922), 137; Walther von Loewenich, "Zum Verständnis des Opfergedankens im Hebräerbrief," *TBl* 12 (1933): 167–72; Paul Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 453; Joseph Moingt, "La fin du sacrifice," *LumVie* 217 (1994): 27–28; Jennifer L. Koosed, "Double Bind: Sacrifice in the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *A Shadow of Glory: Reading the New Testament after the Holocaust*, ed. Tod Linafelt (London: Routledge, 2002), 94; cf. Hans Windisch, *Der Hebräerbrief*, HNT 4/3 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1913), 85; Ruben Zimmermann, "Die neutestamentliche Deutung des Todes Jesu als Opfer: Zur christologischen Koinzidenz von Opfertheologie und Opferkritik," *KD* 51 (2005): 91; ch. 5 n. 42.

4 A. J. M. Wedderburn, "Sawing Off the Branches: Theologizing Dangerously ad Hebraeos," *JTS* 56 (2005): 393–414, here 393; similarly Gerd Schunack, *Der Hebräerbrief*, ZBK 14 (Zürich: Theologischer, 2002), 18.

5 Wedderburn, "Sawing Off the Branches," 404.

6 Ibid., 406.

7 Wedderburn appears to rush judgment on the self-contradictory nature of Hebrews's sacrifice theology because he does not like sacrificial imagery in theology. He considers sacrifice "anomalous and alien in our western world, indeed in the eyes of some abhorrent" (ibid., 410). He is relieved when Hebrews's sacrificial argument "seems to crumble in his hands and to turn into

1.1.2 Malicious Reinterpretation of the LXX?

Second, the severity of Hebrews's cult criticism is also surprising considering the author's knowledge of and reverence for the LXX.[8] Hebrews repeatedly quotes and alludes to the LXX, and it even introduces LXX quotations as the words of God.[9] Further, Hebrews evidences a thorough knowledge of the levitical sacrifices as described in the LXX, and the LXX declares that the sin offering, burnt offering, and guilt offering made atonement (ἐξιλάσκεσθαι) and forgave (ἀφιέναι) sin.[10] Further, the sin offering on the Day of Atonement atoned for all their sins (περὶ πασῶν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν) (Lev 16:16; cf. 16:30, 34). Thus, the LXX, which the author of Hebrews considers to be the words of God, ascribes to old covenant sacrifices an efficacy that Hebrews's cult criticism appears to disallow.[11] Whereas Hebrews states that the old covenant sacrifices could not

absurdity and self-contradiction" (ibid., 411) and thinks it inapproporiate for any contemporary biblical or systematic theologians to use "the logic of bloody sacrifice as the means to restore harmony between humanity and God" (ibid.). Any sacrificial views of atonement must be jettisoned.

8 While the term *the LXX* may suggest the presence of a uniform translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, this is not the case. A number of translation traditions existed. Scholars typically use the term *Old Greek (OG)* to designate what the scholar discerns to be the oldest recoverable form of the Greek text, while the term *LXX* refers to all the Greek Jewish Scriptures—i.e., all the translation traditions of the Hebrew Bible into Greek (R. Timothy McLay, *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003], 5–7; Susan E. Docherty, *The Use of the Old Testament in Hebrews: A Case Study in Early Jewish Bible Interpretation*, WUNT 2/260 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013], 121–32; Georg A. Walser, *Old Testament Quotations in Hebrews: Studies in their Textual and Contextual Background*, WUNT 2/356 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013], 1–13). In this volume, citations from the LXX come primarily from the Göttingen critical text (LXXG). Greek citations from 2 Samuel, Judges, and 4 Maccabees are taken from the Rahlfs edition (LXXR). When needed (e.g., when discussing specific quotations of the Jewish Greek Scriptures where translation traditions vary in a way significant to the point at hand), we will examine more of the translation traditions.

9 E.g., Heb 1:5–13; 3:7–11; 4:3–7; 5:5–6; 7:21; 8:5, 8–12; 10:15–17.

10 For the achievement of ἐξιλάσκεσθαι and ἀφιέναι through sin offerings, see Lev 4:20, 26, 31, 35; 5:6, 10, 13 (just ἐξιλάσκεσθαι, see 6:30[LXX 6:23]; 7:7; 10:17; 14:19, 31; 15:15, 30); through burnt offerings, see 5:10 (just ἐξιλάσκεσθαι, see 7:7; 14:19–20, 31; 15:15, 30); through guilt offerings, see 5:16, 18; 6:7[LXX 5:26]; 19:22 (just ἐξιλάσκεσθαι, see 7:7).

11 Docherty, *Old Testament in Hebrews*, 199; David M. Moffitt, "The Interpretation of Scripture in the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *Reading the Epistle to the Hebrews: A Resource for Students*, ed. Eric F. Mason and Kevin B. McCruden, Resources for Biblical Study 66 (Atlanta: SBL, 2011), 77. As discussed in n. 8, the LXX represents a pluriformity of translation traditions; thus, we do not know what translation tradition the author found authoritative or even what books were parts of his Scriptures. Still, the author attributes to God, Jesus, or the Holy Spirit quotations from Genesis, Deuteronomy, 2 Samuel, Psalms, Jeremiah, and Isaiah. These citations from the Law, Writ-

take away sins (ἀφαιρεῖν ἁμαρτίας [10:4]; περιελεῖν ἁμαρτίας [10:11]), Leviticus states that the very purpose of sacrifice, specifically the sin offering, was to take away sins (ἀφέλητε τὴν ἁμαρτίαν [LXX Lev 10:17]). In addition, the author of Hebrews at times conflates sacrificial practices or speaks about sacrifice in general without distinguishing between different types of sacrifices. As a result of these issues, some scholars have concluded that Hebrews either ignored certain parts of the Pentateuch's descriptions of the sacrifices,[12] did not fully understand them,[13] or manipulated them to present a negative view of Judaism and the superiority of Christianity.[14]

1.2 Proposals

The tensions in Hebrews's cult theology, which have led some to view Hebrews as self-contradictory and others to view the author as intentionally misinterpreting the Old Testament, raise several important questions. How does Hebrews understand the efficacy of the levitical sacrifices? How does Hebrews depict the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice in comparison to the levitical sacrifices? What are the continuities and discontinuities between the old and new covenants as they relate to sacrifice?

Scholars have answered these questions in a variety of ways, and their proposals are listed below. While some of the proposals are mutually exclusive, many are not, and virtually no scholar holds only one of the following proposals. Instead, scholars mix and match the following possibilities.

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ings, Psalms, and Prophets demonstrate that the author considered portions of—and likely the whole of—the Hebrew Bible to be inspired. It is not clear to what extent the author accepted the books known as the Apocrypha or Deuterocanoncials.

12 Windisch, *Hebräerbrief*, 85; Robert P. Gordon, *Hebrews*, Readings (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 26, 97, 109.

13 William R. G. Loader, *Sohn und Hoherpriester: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Christologie des Hebräerbriefes*, WMANT 53 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1981), 244; Nehemia Polen, "Leviticus and Hebrews ... and Leviticus," in *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology*, ed. Richard Bauckham et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 213–25, esp. 224–225.

14 Lillian C. Freudmann, *Antisemitism in the New Testament* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994), 150–58; Haber, "Christ Cultus," 105–24; cf. Erich Grässer, *An die Hebräer*, EKKNT 17 (Zürich: Benziger, 1990–1999), 2:211; Harold W. Attridge, "How the Scrolls Impacted Scholarship on Hebrews," in *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, vol. 3 of *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Baylor, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 230.

1.2.1 Different Kinds of Cleansing

Many scholars explain the relationship between old and new covenant sacrifices by ascribing different kinds of cleansing to each. Several such distinctions have been proposed.

1.2.1.1 External v. Internal

The most common distinction is between external and internal purification. Hebrews describes the levitical ceremonies as "regulations for the body [σαρκός]" (9:10) and further contrasts old and new covenant sacrifices, stating, "For if the blood of goats and bulls, with the sprinkling of the ashes of a heifer, sanctifies those who have been defiled so that their flesh [σαρκός] is purified, how much more will the blood of Christ ... purify our conscience [συνείδησιν] from dead works" (9:13–14).[15] Based on these statements, many scholars conclude that old covenant sacrifices purified believers from external ceremonial pollution or defilement, whereas Christ's new covenant sacrifice purified the conscience from sins.[16]

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15 Unless otherwise indicated, Scripture quotations are from the New Revised Standard Version Bible, copyright 1989, Division of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. Scripture references follow the versification in the NRSV unless alternate versification is indicated.

16 John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews* 15.5, 16.5, ed. Philip Schaff, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers 14 (Buffalo: Christian Literature, 1885; reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1975), 440, 444; Aquinas, *Hebrews*, 184, 188–89; Martin Luther, *Lectures on Hebrews*, trans. Walter A. Hansen, *Luther's Works* 29 (St. Louis: Concordia, 1968), 206, 208, 219; Gottlieb Lünemann, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistle to the Hebrews*, trans. Maurice J. Evans, MCNT (London: T&T Clark, 1882), 330; Brooke Foss Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1892), 253–54, 260; George Milligan, *The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (London: T&T Clark, 1899), 150–51; Windisch, *Hebräerbrief*, 84; James Moffatt, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, ICC 40 (London: T&T Clark, 1924), 118, 123–24; Loewenich, "Opfergedankens im Hebräerbrief," 167–72; John Brown, *Hebrews*, GSC (London: Banner of Truth, 1961), 398–406; Scott, *Hebrews*, 100, 132–34; Hugh Montefiore, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, HNTC (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 149–50, 155, 164; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, rev. ed., NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), xxi, 196, 201–7; Peterson, "Prophecy of New Covenant in Hebrews," 74–81; James W. Thompson, *The Beginnings of Christian Philosophy: The Epistle to the Hebrews*, CBQMS 13 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1982), 103–15; Simon Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, NTC (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1984), 244–45, 250; Albert Vanhoye, *Old Testament Priests and the New Priest: According to the New Testament*, SS (Petersham, MA: St. Bede's, 1986), 199, 208, 214; Robert McLachlan Wilson, *Hebrews*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 147–49, 172–73; Harold W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*,

1.2.1.2 Defilement v. Sin

Some scholars highlight the function of ceremonial purifications in the old covenant, relating the sacrifices to the purity system and concepts of sacred space, to argue that levitical sacrifices were not intended to forgive sins but to "cleanse from certain irregularities by which [the believers] were impeded from the worship of God."[17] Any defilement, according to the purity system, prevented the believer from divine worship. Sacrifices, therefore, expiated defilement to allow the Israelites to continue in their worship and were never intended to take away sins. Christ's sacrifice, in contrast, both forgives sins *and* expiates defilement, thereby purifying the conscience *and* ensuring access to God and the ability to worship.[18]

Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989), 27, 273; Donald A. Hagner, *Hebrews*, NIBC 14 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1990), 130 – 39; Barnabas Lindars, *The Theology of the Letter to the Hebrews*, NTTh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 88 – 91; William L. Lane, *Hebrews*, WBC 47 A–B (Dallas, TX: Word, 1991), 2:235 – 40, 261 – 62; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:136, 139, 205; Hans-Friedrich Weiss, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, 15th ed., KEK 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 460; Moingt, "La fin du sacrifice," 114 – 15, 405; David A. deSilva, *Perseverance in Gratitude: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on the Epistle "to the Hebrews"* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 306; Richard W. Johnson, *Going Outside the Camp: The Sociological Function of the Levitical Critique in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, JSNTSup 209 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 100 – 108, 122 – 23; Frances M. Young, *The Use of Sacrificial Ideas in Greek Christian Writers from the New Testament to John Chrysostom*, PMS 5 (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2004), 165 – 66; Felix H. Cortez, "From the Holy to the Most Holy Place: The Period of Hebrews 9:6 – 10 and the Day of Atonement as a Metaphor of Transition," *JBL* 125 (2006): 527 – 47; Luke Timothy Johnson, *Hebrews: A Commentary*, NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006), 225 – 26, 235 – 38; Georg Gäbel, *Die Kulttheologie des Hebräerbriefes: Eine exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Studie*, WUNT 2/212 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 282, 292; Kenneth Schenck, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Hebrews: The Settings of the Sacrifice*, SNTSMS 143 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 133 – 39; Alan Mitchell, *Hebrews*, SP 13 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2007), 23, 177 – 84, 199 – 200; Barry C. Joslin, *Hebrews, Christ and the Law: The Theology of the Mosaic Law in Hebrews 7:1 – 10:18*, PBM (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 2008), 244 – 55; Peter T. O'Brien, *The Letter to the Hebrews*, PiNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 315 – 26, 346 – 48, 355.

17 Aquinas, *Hebrews*, 414.

18 Ibid., 414, 443; Westcott, *Hebrews*, 261; Alexander Balmain Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: The First Apology for Christianity*, 2nd ed. (London: T&T Clark, 1899), 336 – 37; James Denney, *The Death of Christ: Its Place and Interpretation in the New Testament*, 3rd ed. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1903), 224; Scott, *Hebrews*, 131; Kenneth Grayston, "Salvation Proclaimed III: Hebrews 9:11 – 14," *ExpTim* 93 (1982): 164 – 67; Kenneth Grayston, *Dying, We Live: A New Enquiry into the Death of Christ in the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 268 – 70; Wilson, *Hebrews*, 153; John H. Walton, "Equilibrium and the Sacred Compass: The Structure of Leviticus," *BBR* 11 (2001): 298; Johnson, *Hebrews*, 249.

1.2.1.3 Social Purity v. Sins

Similarly, a few scholars have drawn on the social aspect of the purity system to claim that levitical sacrifices focused on the corporate existence of Israel, whereas Christ's sacrifice achieved a salvific reality. Two forms of this communal proposal exist—one individual and one corporate. First, Philip Melanchthon argues that propitiatory, levitical sacrifices "did not merit the forgiveness of sins in the sight of God, but they did on the basis of the justice of the law; thus those for whom they were offered did not have to be excluded from the commonwealth."[19] Levitical offerings, then, achieved civil reconciliation and forgiveness in the eyes of the law, which allowed an *individual* to remain a member of Israel, whereas Christ's sacrifice achieved divine reconciliation and forgiveness of sins in the eyes of God.

Second, in contrast to the individual's ability to remain in the community, Kenneth Grayston focuses on *corporate* expiation. Based on the identification of old covenant sacrifices as "purifications of the flesh [σαρκός]," Grayston contends that "in Hebrew flesh means our existence in the earthly world, in distinction from existence in the heavenly world. The purification sought on the Day of Atonement was the removal from the Jewish community of whatever threatened its corporate existence."[20] The Day of Atonement, then, was the means by which the community removed or held in check any "destructive influences in their society," thereby ensuring the maintenance of the community.[21] Jesus's sacrifice, in contrast, removed sins from the consciences of believers.

1.2.1.4 Sins of Ignorance v. Willful Sins

Several recent scholars have argued that levitical sacrifices, according to Hebrews, only covered sins of ignorance, whereas Christ's sacrifice also atoned

19 Melanchthon, "Apology of the Augsburg Confession," 21, 24, 56 – 57; similarly Brown, *Hebrews*, 400; Moses Stuart, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, rev. and ed. E. Henderson (London: William Tegg, 1867), 453; Westcott, *Hebrews*, 253 – 54; Bruce, *Hebrews: Apology*, 333; Franz Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, trans. Thomas L. Kingsbury, CFTL 4/20 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1952), 148; Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 250; Craig R. Koester, *Hebrews: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 36 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 2001), 416.

20 Grayston, *Dying, We Live*, 266; similarly, Grayston, "Salvation Proclaimed III," 167; I. Howard Marshall, "Soteriology in Hebrews," in *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology*, ed. Richard Bauckham et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 166.

21 Grayston, *Dying, We Live*, 266 – 67.

for "high-handed" or willful sins.[22] Numbers 15:22–31 is "the *locus classicus* in the Old Testament for the distinction between sins of ignorance … and high-handed sins."[23] While sins of ignorance (ἀκούσιος) could be atoned for (ἐξιλάσκεσθαι), high-handed sins (ποιήσει ἐν χειρὶ ὑπερηφανίας) could not be atoned, and, consequently, they resulted in "excommunication and consequent destruction."[24] Leviticus makes use of this distinction, stating that the sin offering and guilt offering atoned for a person or the community when they sinned unintentionally (ἀκούσιος; Lev 4:2, 13; 5:15). Hebrews, according to these scholars, utilizes and develops this distinction. When describing the levitical Day of Atonement, Hebrews states that the sin offering was for the unintentional sins (ἀγνοημάτων) of the people (Heb 9:7). In contrast, Christ's sacrifice purifies the conscience from works that lead to death (ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων) (9:14; cf. 6:1), which is supposedly a reference to willful sins that lead to destruction. Further, Hebrews notes that the levitical priests were able to deal gently with the ignorant (ἀγνοοῦσιν) (5:2), whereas no sacrifice remains for the Christian who persists in willful sinning (ἑκουσίως ἁμαρτανόντων) (10:26).[25] In this way, Hebrews distinguishes between old covenant sacrifices that atoned for sins of ignorance and Jesus's sacrifice, which atones for accidental *and* deliberate sins.

1.2.1.5 Temporary v. Final

A central argument in Hebrews's description of the superiority of Christ's sacrifice is its singularity. The old covenant sacrifices effected a limited efficacy and,

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22 Robert P. Gordon, "Better Promises: Two Passages in Hebrews against the Background of the Old Testament Cultus," in *Templum Amicitiae*, ed. William Horbury, JSNTSup 48 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 434–49; Gordon, *Hebrews*, 26, 29, 97, 101; Hermut Löhr, *Umkehr und Sünde im Hebräerbrief*, BZNW 73 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 23–44; Andrew Chester, "The Sibyl and the Temple," in *Templum Amicitiae*, ed. William Horbury, JSNTSup 48 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 434–49; similarly, Bruce, *Hebrews: Apology*, 336–37; Marie E. Isaacs, *Sacred Space: An Approach to the Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, JSNTSup 73 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1992), 97–99; Johnson, *Going Outside the Camp*, 103; Marshall, "Soteriology in Hebrews," 268–69; cf. Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 148; Mary Rose D'Angelo, *Moses in the Letter to the Hebrews*, SBLDS 42 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1979), 237; Peter Stuhlmacher, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 2:102–3; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 436, 498; Fulvio Di Giovambattista, *Il giorno dell'espiazione nella Lettera agli ebrei*, TGST 61 (Rome: Pontificia università gregoriana, 2000), 183–87, 192; Koester, *Hebrews*, 286.

23 Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 435.

24 Ibid.

25 Ἀκούσιος, which the LXX uses to denote sins of ignorance, is the negation of ἑκουσίως (ἀ + εκούσιος).

therefore, had to be repeated, whereas Christ's sacrifice was a decisive and final cleansing. Richard W. Johnsson identifies the lasting effect of Christ's purgation as *the* definitive point of distinction between old and new covenant sacrifices. Johnsson rejects the external-internal distinction (proposal 1.2.1.1), which does not conform to his understanding of ceremonial defilement. Therefore, Johnsson concludes that old covenant sacrifices could purge the συνείδησις, but they could not purge the whole person definitively.[26] In contrast, Jesus's sacrifice achieved a final and complete purgation.

1.2.2 Prophetic Criticism

In addition to distinctions in purification, some scholars argue that Hebrews's cult criticism is not radical or unusual but is an extrapolation of the criticism existing already in the Old Testament.[27] The prophets criticized the abuse of the sacrificial system, calling for piety and righteousness to accompany sacrifice. As a result, the psalms and prophets often speak of the offering of praise or a righteous life as better than an animal sacrifice.[28] To demonstrate the need for a new sacrifice, Hebrews quotes one of the Old Testament texts (Ps 40:6–8) that highlights "the futility of the Old Testament sacrifices."[29] Deliverance from sins is to be attained not by animal sacrifices, but only by fulfilling the will of God.[30] Hebrews expands on this prophetic criticism, identifying Christ's obedience and death as the perfect fulfillment of God's will, which achieves the deliverance from sins.

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26 William G. Johnsson, "Defilement and Purgation in the Book of Hebrews" (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1973), 288–90, 339–41; cf. Bruce, *Hebrews: Apology*, 333; Lindars, *Hebrews*, 88–91; Young, *Sacrificial Ideas*, 165–66; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:239, 260–69.

27 Lünemann, *Hebrews*, 61; Windisch, *Hebräerbrief*, 85; Moffatt, *Hebrews*, xli–xlv; Ronald Williamson, *Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews*, ALGHJ 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 162–63; George Wesley Buchanan, *To the Hebrews*, AB 36 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972), 166–67; cf. William Gouge, *A Commentary on the Whole Epistle to the Hebrews*, NSC (Edinburgh: Nichol, 1866), 2:298; Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 273; Vanhoye, *Old Testament Priests*, 183, 188; Gordon, *Hebrews*, 28; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 319–20; Frank Thielman, *Theology of the New Testament: A Canonical and Synthetic Approach* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005), 601–2; Lloyd Kim, *Polemic in the Book of Hebrews: Anti-Judaism, Anti-Semitism, Supersessionism?* PrThMS 64 (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2006), 184–89; Johnson, *Hebrews*, 252–53.

28 Pss 40:6–8; 50:8–14; Isa 1:10–17; 66:2–3; Jer 6:20; 7:21–31; 11:15; 14:12; Ezek 20:25–31; Hos 8:11–13; 12:11; Amos 4:4–5; 5:21–25; Mal 6:6–8; cf. Pss 26:6–7; 51:17–18; 69:30–31; 107:22; 141:2.

29 Kim, *Polemic in Hebrews*, 185.

30 Lünemann, *Hebrews*, 61.

1.2.3 Hellenistic Dualism

Other scholars, in contrast, consider Hebrews's cult criticism to go beyond that of the Old Testament prophets, and they identify Hebrews's denial of sacrificial efficacy with the Hellenistic views of Plato and Philo.[31] James W. Thompson has developed this argument.[32] He argues that Hebrews's dualism between the heavenly and earthly sanctuaries and its dualistic anthropology of σάρξ and συνείδησις are "metaphysical assumptions ... which are shared with the writers of the Platonic tradition" and are foundational to the negative evaluation of the levitical cult.[33] An earthly sanctuary in which material, bloody animals are sacrificed can only cleanse the flesh, whereas a heavenly sacrifice in the heavenly sanctuary is required for one to "approach God with the purity of the heavenly aspect of human existence, the conscience."[34] In this way, the metaphysical dualisms match up. The earthly sanctuary can cleanse the flesh, while the heavenly sanctuary cleanses the conscience.

1.2.4 Dogmatic Conclusion

Some scholars contend that Hebrews takes a dogmatic view of the relationship between old and new covenant sacrifices. Lloyd Kim, for instance, argues that the author likely reasoned from solution to problem. "Once the author was convinced that Jesus's blood alone is efficacious in cleansing sin, he must conclude the shadowy Levitical sacrifices were deficient."[35] Likewise, Susan Haber argues that, since Christ's sacrifice rendered "all other forms of atonement obsolete," levitical sacrifices presented a "theology of atonement ... antithetical to belief in Christ."[36] Hebrews, therefore, dogmatically rejects levitical sacrifices, because they are "a competing theology of atonement that threatens the Christological view of expiation from sin."[37] Lloyd Kim goes a step further, arguing that the au-

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31 Stylianopoulos, "Shadow and Reality," 215 – 30; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 272 – 73; Johnson, *Hebrews*, 27 – 28, 223 – 26, 235; cf. Schenck, *Cosmology*, 133 – 39.

32 Thompson, *Beginnings*, 103 – 15; similarly, James W. Thompson, *Hebrews*, Paideia (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2008), 181, 185, 195.

33 Thompson, *Beginnings*, 115.

34 Ibid.

35 Kim, *Polemic in Hebrews*, 178, also 175; cf. Windisch, *Hebräerbrief*, 85; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1: cxxiv; Koester, *Hebrews*, 414.

36 Haber, "Christ Cultus," 121.

37 Ibid.

thor's belief in the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice did not merely make old covenant sacrifices obsolete, but it also meant that old covenant sacrifices never were efficacious. "If indeed they were able to remove sin, then there would be no need for Jesus's sacrifice. Even if the Levitical sacrifices only partially removed sins, the uniqueness and exclusive nature of Jesus's sacrifice would be jeopardized."[38] Thus, "the eschatological act and revelation of Christ forced a reinterpretation of traditional Jewish categories and practices, which would have previously never been questioned."[39]

1.2.5 Socio-Historical Context

Scholars also explain Hebrews's strident polemic against old covenant sacrifices as the result of its socio-historical context.[40] Hebrews, according to this proposal, was written to persuade Jewish Christians not to return to their mother religion.[41] The cult criticism, then, "is a conscious attempt to separate and individuate from the parent religion by highlighting the superiority of the new order over the old, and driving an irrevocable wedge between Judaism and the nascent Christian community."[42] One can expect "incendiary rhetoric" from Hebrews because it represents a nascent minority trying to survive the pressures from Greco-Roman religions and, in this instance, its parent religion, Judaism.[43] Hebrews's socio-historical context alleviates for modern scholars, at least in part, the offensiveness of Hebrews's critique of the cult and/or "revision of the priestly Torah."[44]

38 Kim, *Polemic in Hebrews*, 178 – 79.

39 Ibid., 175.

40 Koosed, "Double Bind," 99; Haber, "Christ Cultus," 121 – 24; Kim, *Polemic in Hebrews*, 189 – 90; Luke Timothy Johnson, "The New Testament's Anti-Jewish Slander and the Conventions of Ancient Polemic," *JBL* 108 (1989): 419 – 44; cf. Norman A. Beck, *Mature Christianity in the 21st Century: The Recognition and Repudiation of the Anti-Jewish Polemic of the New Testament*, exp. and rev. ed., SGJC 5 (New York: Crossroad, 1994), 314 – 17; Jody Barnard, "Anti-Jewish Interpretations of Hebrews: Some Neglected Factors," *Melilah* 11 (2014): 25 – 52.

41 See discussion of the socio-historical context of Hebrews in ch. 4.

42 Haber, "Christ Cultus," 124.

43 Koosed, "Double Bind," 99.

44 Haber, "Christ Cultus," 124; cf. Iutisone Salevao, *Legitimation in the Letter to the Hebrews: The Construction and Maintenance of a Symbolic Universe*, JSNTSup 219 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002), esp. 408 – 10; Koosed, "Double Bind," 89 – 101; Kim, *Polemic in Hebrews*, 147 – 201; Barnard, "Anti-Jewish," 25 – 52, esp. 36 – 37.

1.2.6 Typology

Most scholars, when describing Hebrews's understanding of the relationship between old and new covenant sacrifices, employ the word *type* or *typology*. However, what scholars mean by these terms varies widely, so we need to take a moment to delineate the different understandings of this category. Defined broadly, typology is the comparison of persons, events, or institutions that have a correspondence between both facts and significance.[45]

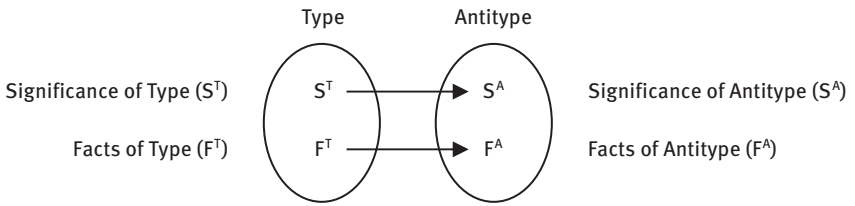

Figure 1 Typology in General

Thus, for old covenant sacrifices to be a type of Christ's sacrifice, there must be a correspondence between their *facts* and their *significance*. Concerning the continuities in facts, the offering of the blood of bulls and goats as a sin offering on the Day of Atonement corresponds to the offering of Christ's blood as a sin offering on the heavenly Day of Atonement. Concerning their significance, opinion varies widely as elucidated above. For the sake of demonstrating the nature of a typological connection, we will fill in the correspondence in significance with the external v. internal proposal above (1.2.1.1). Both animal sacrifices and Christ's sacrifice achieved purification.

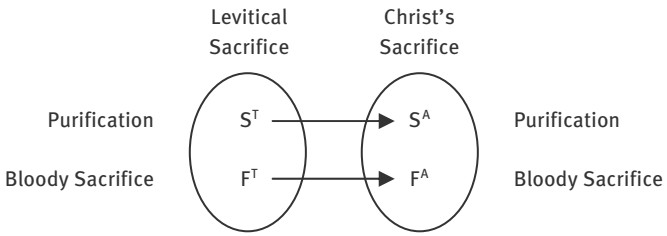

Figure 2 Levitical Type

45 Benjamin J. Ribbens, "Typology of Types: Typology in Dialogue," *JTI* 5 (2011): 81–96.

Further, Hebrews speaks of levitical sacrifice not merely as a *type* but a *christological type*, which means, among other things, that there is a heightening or escalation between the type and the antitype. Whereas, again following the external v. internal proposal (1.2.1.1) for the sake of argument, old covenant sacrifices accomplished the purification of the flesh, Christ's sacrifice accomplishes something greater—i.e., the purification of the conscience.

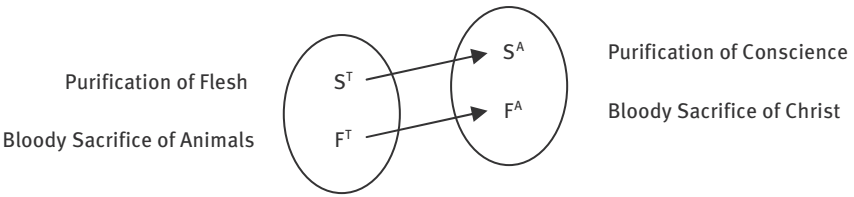

Figure 3 Christological Type

Thus, a christological type not only designates a correspondence of fact and significance but also includes a heightening. The christological antitype is superior to the type.

Even when scholars share this fundamental or base understanding of Hebrews's typology (the dual correspondence with christological heightening), they can still hold widely diverging and fundamentally antithetical understandings of Hebrews's sacrificial, typological correspondence. For the sake of categorization, it is necessary to delineate two areas of differentitation—perspective and efficacy.

First, scholars differ on the *perspective* of typology. On the one hand, some modern scholars view typology as retrospective, human analogical thinking. Typological connections are a way for authors to interpret or explain a concept in terms of previously established concepts. Thus, as it concerns the interpretation of Hebrews, *retrospective* typology would be the manner by which the author chose to interpret and explain Jesus's death in terms of levitical sacrifices.[46] On the other hand, a long tradition of scholars have viewed Hebrews's sacrificial typology as *prospective*. In this manner, the author believed that levitical sacri-

46 For retrospective typology in the interpretation of Hebrews, see Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 21; cf. Isaacs, *Sacred Space*, 73–74. Retrospective typology, in general, has been most prominently adopted by Gerhard von Rad ("Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament," in *Essays on Old Testament Hermeneutics*, ed. Claus Westermann, trans. James Luther Mays [Atlanta: John Knox, 1960], 23; Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, trans. D. M. G. Stalker [New York: Harper & Row, 1962], 2:319–429).

fices were ordained by God for two purposes. First, levitical sacrifices foreshadowed Christ's sacrifice, thereby serving a *prophetic* function. Second, levitical sacrifices demonstrated the human need for atoning sacrifices and taught what was necessary for the achievement of atonement and forgiveness, thereby serving a *pedagogicial* or *propaedeutic* function.[47]

Thus, *retrospective* typology looks back from the sacrifice of Christ onto levitical sacrifices and places the impetus for the typological connection with the human author, whereas *prospective* typology looks from the levitical sacrifices toward and in anticipation of Christ's sacrifice and places the impetus for the typological connection with God himself. All scholars, based on their own beliefs about God and revelation, have their own opinions on whether typology *can be* retrospective or prospective, and the debates over this issue are rigorous and dogmatic. Therefore, we must at this juncture reiterate that the purpose of this study is not a defense of a type of typology; instead, the focus is on Hebrews's view of the relationship between old and new covenant sacrifices. If Hebrews depicts the relationship between old and new covenant sacrifices typologically, is its typological understanding retrospective or prospective?

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47 Chrysostom, *Homilies on Hebrews*, 15.2–3, 17.5, 18.1; Aquinas, *Hebrews*, 422, 436; Luther, *Lectures on Hebrews*, 213; Melanchthon, "Apology of the Augsburg Confession," 21, 53–57; Gouge, *Hebrews*, 2:245–48, 297–98; Westcott, *Hebrews*, 304–7; Milligan, *Theology of Hebrews*, 215–16; Windisch, *Hebräerbrief*, 84–86; Scott, *Hebrews*, 74–76; Loewenich, "Opfergedankens im Hebräerbrief," 167–72; Ceslas Spicq, *L'épître aux Hébreux*, EBib (Paris: Gabalda, 1952), 2:282–84; Philip E. Hughes, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 393, 576; Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New*, trans. Donald H. Madvig (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 161–78; F. Dunkel, "Expiation et Jour des expiations dans l'Épître aux Hébreux," *RRef* 33 (1982): 63–71; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 440, 473; Roger T. Beckwith, "The Death of Christ as a Sacrifice in the Teaching of Paul and Hebrews," in *Sacrifice in the Bible*, ed. Roger T. Beckwith and Martin J. Selman (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 1995), 133–35; Di Giovambattista, *Giorno dell'espiazione*, 142; Kim, *Polemic in Hebrews*, 179–80; Joslin, *Law*, esp. 250–55; Schreiner, *New Testament Theology*, 665–67; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 318–22; Gareth Lee Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 53–54; cf. Stephen R. Holmes, "Death in the Afternoon: Hebrews, Sacrifice, and Soteriology," in *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology*, ed. Richard Bauckham et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 249–51; Jared Compton, *Psalm 110 and the Logic of Hebrews*, LNTS 537 (London: T&T Clark, 2015), 123–24, 156.

Some scholars do not adopt the language of *typology* (or even reject it, e.g., Lindars) but use other terms to explain levitical sacrifices as *prospective*. E.g., R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of the Epistle to the Hebrews and of the Epistle of James* (Columbus, OH: Wartburg, 1936), 285–335; Donald Guthrie, *The Letter to the Hebrews: An Introduction and Commentary*, TNTC (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1983), 202–3; Vanhoye, *Old Testament Priests*, 181, 207, 209; Lindars, *Hebrews*, 51–55; Koester, *Hebrews*, 115, 401, 414, 437.

Second, scholars differ widely, as we have noted, on the *efficacy* (or significance) of the typological connection. Still, a fundamental distinction separates a unique view of typology from the rest. On the one hand, most scholars consider Christ's archetypal sacrifice as the sole sacrifice that achieves atonement and the forgiveness of sins. The levitical sacrifices, because they are merely the types of Christ's sacrifice, had some inferior effect—the options for this inferior effect are enumerated in sections 1.2.1.1–5 above (see figure 3).[48]

On the other hand, a few scholars argue that Hebrews considers the levitical sacrifices to be *sacramental, christological types*.[49] John Calvin develops this proposal, and he has been followed by a handful of scholars.[50] According to this position, the levitical sacrifices were external rituals that, in and of themselves,

48 Chrysostom, *Homilies on Hebrews*, 15.2–5; 16.4; 17.5; 18.1; Aquinas, *Hebrews*, 422, 430–32; Melanchthon, "Apology of the Augsburg Confession," 53–57; Gouge, *Hebrews*, 2:248–54, 299; Stuart, *Hebrews*, 426, 450; Westcott, *Hebrews*, 253–61, 304; Windisch, *Hebräerbrief*, 84–86; Scott, *Hebrews*, 131–36; Brown, *Hebrews*, 434; Delitzsch, *Hebrews*, 141, 148, 160 (although he does argue that levitical sacrifices did result in the forgiveness of sins); Hughes, *Hebrews*, 576; Goppelt, *Typos*, 161–78; Vanhoye, *Old Testament Priests*, 181–214; Bruce, *Hebrews*, 201–2; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:235–36; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 220, 445; Stuhlmacher, *Biblische Theologie*, 2:102–3; Joslin, *Law*, esp. 250–55; Schreiner, *New Testament Theology*, 665–67; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 312, 318–22; cf. Lindars, *Hebrews*, 51–55, 124.

49 The term *sacramental* is used in this book to refer to an external action by which God seals a promised efficacy.

50 John Calvin, *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews and the First and Second Epistles of St. Peter*, ed. David W. Torrance and Thomas F. Torrance, trans. William B. Johnston, Calvin's Commentaries 12 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963), 112, 118–21, 127–34; Gouge, *Hebrews*, 2:245, 248, 300; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 317–20, 325–36, 393; Beckwith, "Death of Christ," 133–35; Kim, *Polemic in Hebrews*, 179–80; cf. Frederic William Farrar, *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews*, CGTSC 15 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1888), 119; Lenski, *Hebrews and James*, 197, 293, 326; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 419; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 328; Thomas R. Schreiner, *Commentary on Hebrews* (Nashville: B & H Publishing, 2015), 461–62.

Aquinas makes a very similar argument, asserting that the cleansing effected through levitical sacrifices was not by the power of the priest but "by the power of the blood of Christ, Who is as first cause" (*Hebrews*, 445). Further, Aquinas affirms that Old Testament saints did receive atonement and forgiveness, because they were promised in Leviticus. However, Aquinas contends that such cleansing "was due to faith" and "not in virtue of the ceremonies or the legal observances" (*Hebrews*, 431–32), and he maintains the distinction between external cleansing, which was possible through levitical sacrifices, and internal cleansing, which was achieved through Christ's sacrifice (*Hebrews*, 432–34, 445–46). Thus, while Aquinas's view is very similar to the sacramental understanding, he ultimately divides the external ritual and interior effect, which are brought together in the sacramental view. Likewise, Martin Luther, while affirming that "absolutely nothing external is of value to the soul," argues that old covenant sacrifices could "become meritorious and pleasing to God through those who were in faith" (*Lectures on Hebrews*, 219; cf. 206, 208).

had no atoning efficacy. However, God employed the levitical sacrifices sacramentally, so the external ritual was accompanied by God's promises in Leviticus that, when sacrifices were made, the priest will make atonement (ἐξιλάσκεσθαι) for their sins, and they will be forgiven (ἀφιέναι; see n. 10 above for texts). These promises were ultimately fulfilled in the sacrifice of Christ, which achieved atonement and forgiveness once-for-all-time (both pre- and post-Christ). Levitical sacrifices, then, were an external ritual sacramentally signifying an atoning efficacy that was achieved later by Christ and applied proleptically to levitical sacrifices.

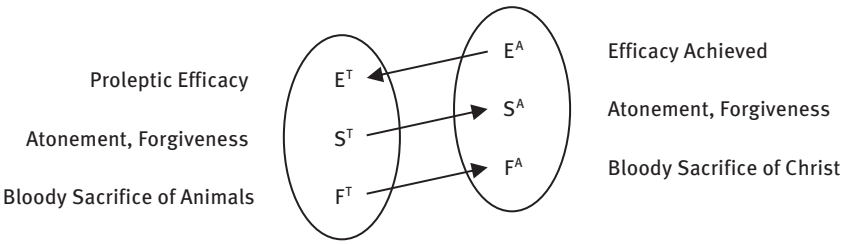

Figure 4 Sacramental, Christological Type

Levitical sacrifices, therefore, did atone for sins, but only because they were sacraments or symbols of the truly efficacious sacrifice of Christ.

1.3 Need for and Approach to this Study

It is now evident that there is a lack of consensus concerning Hebrews's understanding of the efficacy of old and new covenant sacrifices. In light of the plurality and diversity of understandings, it is somewhat surprising how little scholarly work addresses this issue. The scarcity is partly the result of a lack of scholarly interest in the cultic portions of Hebrews. In 1978, William G. Johnsson noted the dearth of scholarship on Hebrews's cultic texts, especially among Protestant scholars.[51] Since that time, several works have filled that void in scholarship,[52]

51 William G. Johnsson, "Cultus of Hebrews in Twentieth-Century Scholarship," *ExpTim* 89 (1978): 104–8. For Catholic works discussing the cult prior to Johnsson's article, see Aelred Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary and Liturgy in the Epistle to the Hebrews: The Achievement of Salvation in the Epistle's Perspective* (St. Meinrad, IN: Grail, 1960); Franz Joseph Schierse, *Verheissung und Heilsvollendung: Zur theologischen Grundfrage des Hebräerbriefes*, MTS 1/9 (Munich: Zink, 1955); and numerous articles by James Swetnam and Albert Vanhoye.

and, especially in recent years, significant works have focused on Hebrews's cult theology.[53] In addition, recent scholarly works related to Hebrews's views of the new covenant, law, and Christology have also addressed, at least in passing, Hebrews's sacrifice theology.[54] However, none of these works focus on the relationship between old covenant sacrifices and Christ's sacrifice and their efficacies. This issue is either not addressed, given a few sentences, paragraphs, or pages, or, at most, the subject of a chapter or an article.[55]

Thus, this work seeks to address in depth Hebrews's understanding of the relationship between old covenant sacrifices and Christ's new covenant sacrifice, especially as they relate to the question of efficacy. With the host of divergent proposals and disparate understandings, a monograph length work is necessary. While some recent works have made great progress in addressing the void in scholarship on Hebrews's cult theology, focus on the efficacy of sacrifice is now necessary.

To address this topic, this monograph will be divided into two main sections. The first and shorter main section will examine Second Temple understandings of levitical sacrifice (ch. 2) and of the heavenly sanctuary/cult (ch. 3). For two reasons, this work will bypass an interpretation of the relevant Old Testament texts—e. g., Exodus 24, Leviticus 1–16, and Numbers 19—in favor of an examination of sources representative of first-century Judaism. First, the proper interpretation of sacrificial texts in the Old Testament is a contentious matter amongst scholars. That topic alone has been the subject of numerous dissertations and monographs. Therefore, any attempt to address these issues, when the main focus of this work is Hebrews's cult theology, would certainly be a cursory examination that would add little to the scholarly discussion. Second, for the sake of this project, it will be more helpful to examine the sacrificial theology of first-

52 John Dunnill, *Covenant and Sacrifice in the Letter to the Hebrews*, SNTSMS 75 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Darrell J. Pursiful, *The Cultic Motif in the Spirituality of the Book of Hebrews* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1993); Johnson, *Going Outside the Camp.*

53 Di Giovambattista, *Giorno dell'espiazione*; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*; Guido Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit: Hebr 9,11–28 im Kontext biblischer Sühnetheologie*, FB 112 (Würzburg: Echter, 2007).

54 Susanne Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews*, JSNTSup 44 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990); Angela Rascher, *Schriftauslegung und Christologie im Hebräerbrief*, BZNW 153 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007); Sebastian Fuhrmann, *Vergeben und Vergessen: Christologie und Neuer Bund im Hebräerbrief*, WMANT 113 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2007); Scott D. Mackie, *Eschatology and Exhortation in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, WUNT 2/223 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007); Joslin, *Law*; Marshall, "Soteriology in Hebrews," 266–69.

55 For the subject of a chapter or book, Haber, "Christ Cultus," 105–24; Wedderburn, "Sawing Off the Branches," 393–414; Kim, *Polemic in Hebrews*, 147–96.

century Judaism because the Second Temple texts demonstrate how first-century believers understood and interpreted Leviticus and other sacrificial texts.[56] The first-century descriptions of sacrifice are significant because they form the religious understandings that Hebrews inevitably interacts with. The second and larger main section, after an introduction to preliminary issues in Hebrews, will examine the heavenly cult in Hebrews and contend that the heavenly cult establishes the framework to make sense of the relationship between the old covenant sacrifices and Christ's sacrifice (ch. 4). With this framework established, we will turn our attention to what, according to Hebrews, the old covenant sacrifices did and did not accomplish (ch. 5) and then to what the new covenant sacrifice accomplished (ch. 6).

56 While the LXX translations of the Hebrew Bible are artifacts of Second Temple Judaism, the choice to bypass these translations is related to the first reason. If this work were to examine the LXX translations of levitical sacrifice, Leviticus would have been a central text for examination. Unlike large portions of the Psalms and Prophets, the LXX translation traditions of the Pentateuch are very close or literal translations of the MT. Thus, examination of the Greek translations of the HB would have likely divagated into current debates around levitical portions of the MT.

2 Sacrifice Theology in Second Temple Judaism

In this section, I intend to examine first-century Jewish understandings of sacrifice that formed the socio-religious context informing both the author of Hebrews and his audience. In keeping with the focus of this book, this examination will center on notions of sacrificial efficacy and will not address varying interpretations of specific sacrificial rites.[1] A detailed analysis of all Second Temple sacrifice texts is beyond the scope of this project. Therefore, to manage the mass of material, this chapter will employ a two-pronged approach. First, this chapter will present a thematically-organized summary of sacrificial notions current in Second Temple Judaism. Second, since scholars have connected Hebrews directly to Philo and the Qumran Community, this chapter will summarize the understanding of sacrifice present in the Philonic corpus and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Before proceeding with this examination, it is important to establish what terminology will be used to describe certain groups of texts that transfer cultic nomenclature to non-cultic acts. An example of such a text is Ps 141:2, "Let my prayer be counted as incense before you, and the lifting up of my hands as an evening sacrifice." The psalmist uses sacrificial terminology to describe prayer as an offering that he desires to be acceptable before God, an offering that perhaps is also efficacious. Many scholars use the term *spiritualization* to describe this kind of transference of sacrificial terminology.[2] However, the notion of the spiritualization of sacrifice can and has been employed in dualistic evolutionary theories that view levitical sacrifices as part of a vulgar or lower form of religion characterized by rote ritual, a ritual that was superseded by the

1 Discussions of sacrifice in Second Temple texts are dominated by the details of the sacrificial rites. The preoccupation with these details is related to the debates over how the levitical cult should be properly performed. In this work, there is simply not space to examine all of the debates regarding proper procedure of the sacrifices. Thus, while sacrificial rites are intimately related to the efficacy of the different sacrifices, we will focus on what the texts say explicitly about the efficacy of sacrifice and not how the administration of the rites relates to the pronounced efficacies.

2 Hans Wenschkewitz, "Die Spiritualisierung der Kultusbegriffe, Tempel, Priester und Opfer im Neuen Testament," *Angelos* 4 (1932): 70–230; Hans-Jürgen Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult: Zur "Spiritualisierung" der Kultbegriffe im Alten Testament*, WMANT 19 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1965), esp. 8, 24–28; Bertil E. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament*, SNTSMS 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 18–19; Robert J. Daly, *Christian Sacrifice: The Judaeo-Christian Background Before Origen*, CUASCA 18 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1978), esp. 159–71, 273–85.

finer and higher "spiritualized" form of Judaism.[3] Thus, terms such as *spiritualization of sacrifice* and *spiritual sacrifice* refer, at times, to the transference of cultic terminology (e. g., 1 Pet 2:5) but, at other times, carry negative presuppositions about sacrificial religion. This work, therefore, will try to avoid such terminology. When a text "indicates that Jewish and Hellenistic cultic concepts were *shifted* to designate a reality which was not cultic," it will employ terms such as *transference*.[4] Further, when sacrificial terminology is transferred to acts of piety, it will use the term *offering of piety* rather than *spiritual sacrifice*. The term *offering of piety* is not perfect because it could imply that the activities of the levitical cult were not acts of piety. However, we will proceed with this term, understanding that *offering of piety* is shorthand for *an offering of non-cultic piety*.

2.1 Second Temple Judaism: An Overview

We begin with a systematic presentation of sacrificial themes current in Second Temple Judaism, acknowledging that there is a danger to such a thematic summary. By organizing numerous and distinctive texts into a systematic presentation, one "can link together works which are not related either in time or space and give a false sense of homogeneity."[5] In light of this potential risk, the following summary will include disparate elements and competing ideologies, thereby attempting to prevent a false sense of homogeneity. While avoiding false uniformity, I have chosen a thematic approach in lieu of a chronological

3 E.g., Ernst Sellin, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1936), esp. 109 – 16; Hermann Gunkel, *Einleitung in die Psalmen: Die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels*, HAT 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1933), 181. For critiques of such positions, see Georg Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament*, SUNT 7 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 143 – 47; Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "Cultic Language in Qumran and in the NT," *CBQ* 38 (1976): 161; Jonathan Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 145, 172; Francis Schmidt, *La pensée du Temple, de Jérusalem à Qoumrân: Identité et lien social dans le judaïsme ancien*, La Librairie du XXe siècle (Paris: Seuil, 1994), 131 – 33.

4 Schüssler Fiorenza, "Cultic Language," 161; similarly Timothy Wardle, *The Jerusalem Temple and Early Christian Identity*, WUNT 2/291 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 11. In order to replace the term "spiritualization," Klinzing uses both "transference" (übertragenen Gebrauch) and "reinterpretation" (Umdeutung) (*Umdeutung des Kultus*, 143).

5 Christopher Rowland, "The Second Temple: Focus of Ideological Struggle?" in *Templum Amicitiae*, ed. William Horbury, JSNTSup 48 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 177.

approach in part because it will highlight common themes and patterns present in Second Temple sacrificial theologies. A thematic approach also avoids the main challenge of a chronological approach, which is the difficulty in dating Second Temple texts with any precision. Because the sacrificial cult was a central institution in Jewish life and worship, sacrifice is mentioned in many texts; this summary, however, will highlight the more substantive and evaluative comments, which will be summarized in five categories.

2.1.1 Perspectives on and Hopes for the Temple

While our primary concern is to examine notions of sacrifice during the Second Temple period, perspectives on the temple are inevitably intertwined with understandings of sacrifice. It is important to determine whether different views concerning the Second Temple affected people's understandings of the cult. In this section, therefore, we will look at three general views of the temple that are exemplified by Sirach (ca. 180 BCE[6]), Tobit (ca. 200 BCE[7]), and *Jubilees* (160 – 150 BCE[8]); then, we will determine how these different perspectives on the temple made an impact on understandings of sacrifice.

Sirach accepts the Second Temple wholeheartedly. In Sir 49:11 – 13, Ben Sira praises Zerubbabel and Jeshua son of Jozadak, who rebuilt Jerusalem and the temple—the temple that is "holy to the Lord" and "destined for everlasting glory." Ben Sira goes on in ch. 50 to praise Simon the high priest (vv. 1 – 11) and then to describe a liturgy of sacrifice led by him (vv. 12 – 24). Further, the Wisdom portion of Sirach includes several commands to offer sacrifices (7:30; 14:11; 35:10 – 13; 38:11). Based on these texts, it is clear that Sirach "takes a very positive view of the Temple and the cult in Jerusalem."[9] Notable, however, is that Sirach

6 Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, AB 39 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1987), 8 – 10.

7 Benedikt Otzen, *Tobit and Judith*, GAP (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 57; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, CEJL (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 52; cf. Carey A. Moore, *Tobit*, AB 40 A (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1996), 40 – 42.

8 James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, GAP (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 17 – 21.

9 Michael A. Knibb, "Temple and Cult in Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphal Writings from Before the Common Era," in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel*, ed. John Day (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 402; similarly Helge Stadelmann, *Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter*, WUNT 2/6 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1980), 44 – 55; Saul M. Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," *HTR* 80 (1987): 261 – 86; Robert Hayward, "Sacrifice and World Order: Some Observations on Ben Sira's Attitude to the Temple Service," in *Sacrifice and Redemption: Durham Essays in Theology*, ed. Stephen Sykes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 22 – 34; Robert Hay-

was written before the Hellenistic crisis,[10] which raised questions concerning the purity of the sanctuary and which, after the Hasmoneans came to power, also raised questions concerning priestly lineage. First Maccabees was written after the Hellenistic crisis and responds to these questions. Its glorification of the Hasmoneans and legitimation of Simon as high priest demonstrate that 1 Maccabees accepted the Second Temple completely even after the Hellenistic crisis.[11]

Tobit accepts the Second Temple but views it as provisional. Purportedly speaking from the context of exile, Tobit anticipates the fulfillment of the words of the LORD spoken through Nahum, and he tells his son Tobias that God will bring the people "back into the land of Israel; and they will rebuild the temple of God, but not like the first one until the period when the times of fulfillment shall come" (14:5; similarly *2 Bar.* 68:5–7). The post-exilic temple was initially a very unimpressive building, lacking the magnificence of the first temple. Not until 20 BCE with the rebuilding by Herod the Great did the Second Temple rival the first in terms of architecture and grandeur.[12] Due to the unimpressive character of the Second Temple, Tobit anticipates that, after a certain amount of time, all the remaining Israelites who are still in exile "will return from their exile and will rebuild Jerusalem in splendor; and in it the temple of God will be rebuilt, just as the prophets of Israel have said concerning it" (Tob 14:5; cf. 13:10, 16). The prophets to which Tobit is likely referring are Isaiah (66:7–16), Ezekiel (40:1–48:35), Haggai (2:9), and Zechariah (14:10–21),[13] because these prophets describe the hope of a grand temple, more glorious than the first, to which all nations come to worship the LORD. Tobit clearly views the Second Temple as temporary in character[14] and anticipates a second rebuild-

ward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1996), 48; Benjamin G. Wright, "'Fear the Lord and Honor the Priest': Ben Sira as Defender of the Jerusalem Priesthood," in *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research*, ed. Pancratius C. Beentjes, BZAW 255 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 189–222.

10 Hayward, *Jewish Temple*, 38. *First Baruch* 1 is another text written before the Hellenistic crisis that speaks favorably about the Second Temple (see Michael A. Knibb, "Temple and Cult in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha: Future Perspectives," in *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions*, SVTP 22 [Leiden: Brill, 2009], 398–99).

11 Knibb, "Temple and Cult," 411–12; similarly Jonathan A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, AB 41 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 4–12.

12 Moore, *Tobit*, 291; Robert J. Littman, *Tobit: The Book of Tobit in Codex Sinaiticus*, SCS (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 156. Ezra 3:12 records that "many of the priests and Levites and heads of families, old people who had seen the first house on its foundations, wept with a loud voice when they saw this house" (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 11.80–84).

13 Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 330.

14 Moore, *Tobit*, 291; Knibb, "Temple and Cult," 409; Littman, *Tobit*, 156.

ing of the temple during a type of earthly messianic or eschatological age (cf. 13:16; 14:6–7).[15] Thus, although Tobit is positive about the cult (1:4–8; 5:14) and accepted the Second Temple, it views the Second Temple as provisional, hoping instead for a greater temple that is earthly and eschatological.

Jubilees appears to critique the contemporary administration of the temple. Sexual impurity and illegitimate marriages are connected with the defilement and pollution of the temple (*Jub.* 23:14–21; 30:7–17; similarly *T. Levi* 14:1–16:5; *As. Mos.* 4:8; 5; 6:1; *4 Ezra* 1:25–32; *Pss. Sol.* 2:3; 8:12; cf. Mal 1:7). These improprieties are likely attributable to—or at least include—the priests (esp. *1 En.* 15:1–7; cf. 7:1; 9:8; 10:11; 12: 4; 19:1; *T. Levi* 9:9–10; 14:1–16:5), whose impurities would have immediately impacted the sanctuary due to their vocation.[16] In addition, whether to follow a lunar or solar calendar in determining the proper festal days was a contentious matter among priestly classes; therefore, *Jubilees*' rejection of the lunar calendar in favor of the solar calendar is likely an implicit critique of the contemporary utilization of the lunar calendar (6:17–38; 16:28–31; 23:27–29; 49:7–9, 22–23; similarly *1 Enoch* [esp. 72–82], *Testament of Levi*, and Dead Sea Scrolls).[17] Further, *Jubilees*' emphases on the proper administration of sacrifices (21:1–26; cf. 7:3–6; 16:20–31; 32:1–9, 27–29; 34:18–19) and on reverence for the Sabbath (2:19–20; 2:17–33; 50:6–13) may also highlight aspects of contemporary practice that the author wishes to correct.

However, *Jubilees* is also an example of how a critique of cultic administration does not lead to an absolute rejection of the Second Temple or its sacrificial cult. *Jubilees* describes sacrifice as something that must be done continually and forever (*Jub.* 6:14; 50:11). It is part of the divine order; therefore, despite critiquing the cultic practice, *Jubilees* still supports the continued practice of sacrifice in the Jerusalem temple where God dwells (*Jub.* 32:10; 49:21). It does not promote withdrawal from the Jerusalem temple, as some sectarian groups such as the Qumran Community did (discussed below). Still, like those texts that view the Second Temple as inadequate, *Jubilees* hopes for a new temple (1:7–29; 4:26), which it considered to be an eschatological temple whose presence would coin-

15 Roger Aubrey Bullard and Howard Hatton, *A Handbook on Tobit and Judith*, UBSHS (New York: United Bible Societies, 2001), 205; Otzen, *Tobit and Judith*, 44; Wardle, *Jerusalem Temple*, 51–52.

16 VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 58; Knibb, "Temple and Cult," 410; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 40; David Suter, "Jubilees, the Temple, and the Aaronite Priesthood," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 404; Wardle, *Jerusalem Temple*, 53–54, 61–62, 82–84.

17 VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 96–100; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 41; Wardle, *Jerusalem Temple*, 58, 79–80.

cide with the new creation (1:29) and the fulfillment of the promises of the new covenant (1:17–26).[18]

Hopes for a new Jerusalem and new temple were common in Jewish literature both before 70 CE (e.g., *The Apocalypse of Weeks*,[19] the *Third Sibylline Oracle*,[20] and *Lives of the Prophets* 2:12) and after 70 CE (*Apocalypse of Abraham*, *Fifth Sibylline Oracle*, *2 Baruch*, and *Testament of Benjamin*).[21] Some scholars consider such hopes to imply discontent with the Second Temple. However, as the second category above exemplifies, such a conclusion is not necessarily fitting. While in some texts, such as *Jubilees*, the hope for an eschatological temple provided hope for a later temple that performed the cultic praxis properly (in contrast to the contemporary praxis), for others it was simply a belief that the Second Temple was not the ultimate temple.

The most significant conclusion that can be gathered from these three different views of the Second Temple, at least for our investigation, is that whether a writing completely accepts the Second Temple, views the Second Temple as provisional, or opposes the contemporary administration of the Second Temple, nearly all Jewish writings express the desire for sacrifices to be offered and the cult to be administered properly. Regardless of how the temple or the contemporary administration of sacrifices was viewed, the cult was not rejected.[22]

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18 Knibb, "Temple and Cult," 410; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 40.

19 *1 Enoch* 91:12–13; cf. 90:28–29. *First Enoch* 90:28–29, which is part of the *Dream Visions* (chs. 83–90), mentions only a new "house" (i.e., Jerusalem) and not a new "tower" (i.e., temple), which has led some to conclude that *Dream Visions* thinks the New Jerusalem will not have a new temple or new cult (e.g., George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, Hermeneia [Philadelphia: Fortress, 2001], 405). However, such arguments from silence are tenuous.

20 *Sib. Or.* 3:702–4; 767–95. The *Third Sibylline Oracle* depicts the eschatological community living around the temple (702–3) and offering sacrifices (772–75); however, some suggest that this eschatological temple is not "new" (e.g., Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 39). Still, the *Oracle* implies that this temple replaces the old (Chester, "Sibyl and Temple," 45).

21 *Apoc. Ab.* 29; *Sib. Or.* 5:414–33, 501–3; *2 Bar.* 4:1–7; 32:4; *T. Benj.* 9:2. In addition, *4 Ezra* and *Psalms of Solomon* articulate a hope for a new Jerusalem (*4 Ezra* 8:46–52; 10:44–49; 13:36; *Pss. Sol.* 17, esp. vv. 23–32) but do not mention a new temple. Concerning *2 Baruch*, see Frederick J. Murphy, "The Temple in the Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch*," *JBL* 106 (1987): 671–83, esp. 679; Knibb, "Temple and Cult," 400–401.

22 Similarly Wardle, *Jerusalem Temple*, 94. There is one possible exception to this rule. The *Fourth Sibylline Oracle*, composed after the fall of the temple in 70 CE, makes critical statements about the temple and sacrifice. It states that God does not have a house on earth made of stone but lives in a house that is not on earth and not fashioned by human beings (8–11). The work goes on to "reject all temples" as "useless foundations of dumb stones ... defiled with blood of animate creatures, and sacrifices of four-footed animals" (27–30). These remarks may reflect the post-70 context, in which the only existing temples were pagan temples, where God did not reside and where sacrifices were not offered to the Jewish God. However, this text may reflect

2.1.2 Efficacy of Sacrifice: Pentateuch

Especially pertinent for this study is what efficacy Second Temple texts ascribe to sacrifice. Many texts do not explicitly state what they think sacrifices accomplish, not because they did not think the sacrifices accomplished anything, but because the efficacy was not debated. The first-century assumption was that sacrifices accomplished what Leviticus said they accomplished. It is not surprising, then, that where texts do describe the effects of sacrifice, they reflect the efficacy ascribed to sacrifices in the Pentateuch. In Leviticus, there is a regular refrain that describes what sacrifice accomplishes: "The priest shall make atonement [כִּפֶּר; ἐξιλάσεται] for them, and they shall be forgiven [נִסְלַח; ἀφεθήσεται]" (4:20; cf. 4:26, 31, 35; 5:10, 13, 16, 18, 26; 19:22).[23] Since Leviticus also states that atonement effects purification (e. g., Lev 16:30), it comes as no surprise that *atonement*, *forgiveness*, and *purification* are the main efficacies attributed to sacrifice in Second Temple texts.

Atonement: Sacrifices such as sin offerings and burnt offerings effect atonement. In Second Temple texts, there are several different objects of atonement. As in Leviticus, people (*Jub.* 6:14; 7:3; 16: 22; 34:18; 2 Macc 12:45) as well as the nation of Israel (*Jub.* 50:11; Sir 45:16) and their land (*Jub.* 6:2) are the objects of atonement. Some texts identify sins as the object of atonement (*Jub.* 6:2; 16:22; Sir 28:5; similarly Josephus, *Ant.* 3.238, 241, 246, 247[24]), which is implied by the atonement of people. When people are atoned, their sins are taken away. In addition, God is the object of atonement in *Sib. Or.* 3:624 – 629, where the command to "sacrifice to God [θῦε θεῷ]" (626) is sandwiched between two commands for the wicked to "propitiate God [θεὸν ἱλάσκοιο]" (625, 628; similarly Josephus *Ant.* 7.333; 13.230[25]).

Forgiveness: References to forgiveness are less prevalent than to atonement. In addition, whereas Leviticus uses the term סָלַח—translated consistently with ἀφιέναι in the LXX—almost exclusively to communicate the effect of forgiveness,

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a negative assessment of any kind of temple and undermine the possibility of any valid (even future, restored) temple and cult (Chester, "Sibyl and Temple," 62 – 67; John J. Collins, "The Development of the Sibylline Tradition," *ANRW* 20.1:429). If this latter conclusion is correct, we can still conclude that, outside of one post-70 CE text, all Jewish writings promote the sacrificial cult irrespective of their views of the Second Temple.

23 Hebrew references come from BHS. The LXX makes sin the subject of the latter phrase, so that the LXX reads, "The sin shall be forgiven [ἀφεθήσεται αὐτοῖς ἡ ἁμαρτία]" (NETS).

24 Rather than the verb ἐξιλάσκεσθαι, Josephus typically employs the noun παραίτησις (*Ant.* 3.238, 241, 246, 247; also παριστάναι in *Ant.* 13.230).

25 In *Ant.* 7.333 and 13.230, Josephus uses the verbs καταπραύνειν and παριστάναι, respectively (as opposed to [ἐξ]ιλάσκεσθαι).

Second Temple texts appear to use different terms to denote the concept of forgiveness. Texts speak of forgiving sin (ἀφιέναι; *T. Job* 42:5 – 8[26]), taking away sin ([περι]αἱρεῖν; *T. Job* 43:4, 17), and delivering from sin (ἀπολύειν; 2 Macc 12:45).[27]

Purification: Josephus identifies sacrifice as one of the purifications (ἁγνεία; esp. *Ant.* 3.224, 273) and considers sacrifice one of the means by which Moses purified (ἁγνίζειν) the tribe of Levi for their priestly ministry (*Ant.* 3.258; cf. 3.205). Further, the *Testament of Job* states that sacrifices remove and cleanse (καθαρίζειν) lawlessness (*T. Job* 43:4, 17).

2.1.3 Importance of Internal Dispositions: Prophets

Second Temple texts also develop the cultic statements found in the prophets. While the prophetic statements are often identified as criticisms of the cult, they are not so much critical of the cult as that they call for a correspondence between the internal dispositions of the person offering the sacrifice and the significance of the external ritual. The development of these ideas in Second Temple Judaism is evidenced in a number of ways.

First, several Second Temple texts reiterate the prophetic pronouncements that God does not accept the sacrifices of the unrighteous.[28] If a person has married a gentile (*Jub.* 30:13 – 16), if a person "is thinking treachery in his heart" (*2 En.* 46:1), or if a person offers sacrifices of goods taken from the poor (Sir 34:21 – 31), their sacrifice is blameworthy and not accepted by God (also Josephus *Ant.* 4.206; 6.147 – 49). Ultimately, "the Most High is not pleased with the offerings of the ungodly, nor for a multitude of sacrifices does he forgive sins [ἐξιλάσκεται ἁμαρτίας]" (Sir 34:23).

Second, while God does not accept the sacrifice of the unrighteous, he does accept the sacrifice of the righteous; therefore, Second Temple texts develop the prophetic identification between sacrifice and piety. *Second Enoch* 45:3, for in-

26 In *T. Job* 42:8, ἀφιέναι is the uncontested reading; however, in 42:6 ἀφιέναι and ἀφαιρεῖν are both attested (cf. Sebastian P. Brock, *Testamentum Iobi*, PVTG 2 [Leiden: Brill, 1967], 51; Robert A. Kraft, ed., *The Testament of Job, According to the SV Text*, Texts and Translations 5/Pseudepigraph Series 4 [Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1974], 74).

27 *Testament of Job* 15:5 – 9 also clearly views sacrifice as a means to remove sin. Although Josephus seldom speaks of the effect of forgiveness of sins, he frequently notes that sacrifices are "for sins" (ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτάδων; *Ant.* 3.204, 230; also 3.231, 232, 239 – 240, 249, 253), thereby insinuating the effect of forgiveness of sins.

28 Isa 1:10 – 17; Jer 6:20; 7:21 – 36; 11:15; 14:12; Hos 6:6; 8:11 – 14; 12:11; Amos 4:4; 5:21 – 27; Mal 1:7 – 8; Sir 34:21 – 31; *Jub.* 30:13 – 16; *2 En.* 46; *4 Ezra* 1:25 – 32.

stance, states that God does not demand sacrifices; rather, "God demands pure hearts, and by means of all those [kinds of offerings] he tests people's hearts." [29] Sacrifice, then, is an expression of piety and a pure heart. It is for this reason that one must have the proper internal dispositions for God to accept their sacrifice.

The identification of piety with sacrifice also comes to expression in those passages that liken pious actions to sacrifice (e. g., 1 Sam 15:22; Pss 69:31 [LXX 68:32]; 141[LXX 140]:2; Mic 6:6 – 8; *Pss. Sol.* 15:3). Sirach, for instance, states,

> The one who keeps the law makes many offerings;
> one who heeds the commandments makes an offering of well-being.
> The one who returns a kindness offers choice flour,
> and one who gives alms sacrifices a thank offering.
> To keep from wickedness is pleasing to the Lord,
> and to forsake unrighteousness is an atonement. (35:1 – 5 [LXX 35:1 – 3])

One might see in these statements a movement toward "spiritualization" of sacrifice, thereby undermining the significance of material sacrifice.[30] However, just before these comments, Sirach describes the abuse of the cult, where the wicked attempt to cover up their sins with sacrifices. Sirach proceeds in the above text to describe how sacrifice must be accompanied by repentance and righteous behavior. Therefore, it is not contrasting material and non-material sacrifices but is contrasting the abuse of the cult with its proper performance.[31] Likening piety to sacrifice does not undermine the significance of sacrifice; rather, it draws on the significance of sacrifice to assert that ethics is important *just like*, not *rather than*, sacrifice. Keeping the law does not *replace* but *multiplies* sacrifice.[32] Further, Sirach proceeds by saying, "Do not appear before the Lord empty-handed, for all that you offer is in fulfillment of the commandment. The offering of the righteous enriches the altar, and its pleasing odor rises before the Most High. The sacrifice of the righteous is acceptable, and it will never be forgotten" (35:6 – 9). Sacrifices, along with piety, are demanded (similarly Sir 7:31; 14:11; 38:11), and a correspondence between the two is required (cf. *Let. Aris.* 170).

Third, the above statements all rest on the belief that the efficacy of sacrifice depends on God's accepting the sacrifice and is not *ex opere operato*. Second Temple texts such as Sirach reject mechanical notions of sacrifice, in which be-

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29 Translations of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (except where noted) are from *OTP*.

30 So, e. g., James Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction*, rev. ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 141.

31 Wright, "Defender of Priesthood," 193.

32 Ibid., 193 – 94; Knibb, "Temple and Cult," 403.

lievers think they can cover deliberate unrighteousness and continued impiety with extra sacrifices.[33] Instead, God judges whether a sacrifice is acceptable (Sir 5:5–6; 7:9; 35:8–9, 15; *2 En.* 45:3; 61:4–5; 66:2; *T. Job* 42:8; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.98; 4.311; 8.118). He accepts properly performed sacrifices offered by the righteous, but he rejects the sacrifices of the unrighteous. God cannot be bribed to overlook ongoing sins, not even by a multitude of sacrifices (Sir 35:14; *Jub.* 5:15–16).

Due to the rejection of mechanical notions of sacrifice, Second Temple texts often focus on what makes a sacrifice acceptable (*Jub.* 4:25; 7:36; 21:7; 30:16).[34] The primary image used in these texts to discuss the acceptability of sacrifice is that of a sweet fragrance or odor. When a burnt offering is presented appropriately (both in terms of right rituals and right internal dispositions), it creates a sweet aroma that is pleasing and acceptable before God.[35] Conversely, when the sacrifices are tainted by immorality, "they are not sweet smelling" (*Pss. Sol.* 2:3). The smell created by the offering illustrates its acceptability (or lack thereof) before God.

2.1.4 Re-Narration of Biblical History

One new development in Second Temple texts is the re-narration of biblical history in which levitical-type sacrifices and priesthood are attributed to biblical figures going back to Adam. While the Pentateuch includes stories of the patriarchs sacrificing, some Second Temple texts describe their sacrifices in terms of levitical regulations.[36] *Jubilees*' re-narration of Genesis is especially prominent in this regard, but similar re-narrations are also present in *Testament of Levi*, *1 Enoch*, *2 Enoch* (first century CE[37]), *Life of Adam and Eve* (first to second century CE[38]), and *Apocalypse of Abraham* (late first to early second century CE[39]).

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33 For Sirach, see Stadelmann, *Schriftgelehrter*, 68–138; Skehan and di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 87–88; Wright, "Defender of Priesthood," 193; Knibb, "Temple and Cult," 403.

34 Wisdom of Solomon 3:6 even uses the burnt offering (ὁλοκάρπωμα) as an image of what God accepts.

35 Esp. Sir 35:8–9; 38:11; 45:16; 50:15; Jdt 16:16; *Jub.* 3:27; 6:3; 7:5; 16:23; 21:7, 9; 32:4; *L.A.B.* 3:8; 32:3.

36 VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 100–109; Suter, "Jubilees, Temple, and Priesthood," 398.

37 F. I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 1:97; cf. Christfried Böttrich, *Weltweisheit—Menschheitsethik—Urkult: Studien zum slavischen Henochbuch*, WUNT 2/50 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 118–25.

These re-narrations include a description of Adam offering incense in the Garden of Eden (*Jub.* 3:27; cf. *L.A.E.* 29:1–6), which was viewed as a sanctuary (*Jub.* 3:9–10; 4:26; 8:19). Enoch is depicted as a priestly figure who offered incense (*Jub.* 4:25–26) and passed his secret knowledge on to his posterity (*1 En.* 81–82; 106), so that his priestly status is passed on to his descendants (*2 En.* 68:5–69:19; 70:13–22; 71:19–21). Noah offered burnt offerings that achieved atonement for himself and his sons (*Jub.* 6:1–3; 7:1–6). Abraham's covenant sacrifice is greatly expanded (cf. Gen 15; *Jub.* 14:9–20; also *Apoc. Ab.* 9; 12:3–10), and he is described as presenting burnt offerings, first fruits, and libations (*Jub.* 13:4, 8–9, 16, 25–27; 15:2; cf. *Apoc. Ab.*15; 25:4–5; 27). Abraham passes on his knowledge of sacrificial matters to Isaac (*Jub.* 21:7–20), who continues the cultic practice of burnt offerings, thank offerings, and first fruits (*Jub.* 22:1–6). Likewise, Jacob carries on the sacrificial practice of his forebears (*Jub.* 24:23; 31:3–4, 26; 32:1–9, 27–29; 44:1). He even desired to build a sanctuary at Bethel, which God dissuaded him from building (32:16, 22). The investiture of Levi as a priest is also greatly expanded, validating his priesthood by means of zeal like Phinehas (cf. Num 25) when Levi slaughtered the Shechemites (cf. Gen 34:30; 49:5–7; *Jub.* 29:18–20; *T. Lev.* 5–6) and by means of heavenly visions (*Jub.* 32:1–9; *T. Lev.* 8; 9:3, 7–14).

These expansions or re-narrations reveal a concern for the proper performance of sacrificial rituals. By stressing the primeval and patriarchal origin of certain cultic rituals, the re-narrations validate the cultic practices they recount.[40] The desire in Second Temple texts to root cultic practices in the pre-Sinai history demonstrates how important the sacrificial cult was to Second Temple believers. They were willing to re-narrate the patriarchal history to vindicate debated understandings of the priesthood and cult.

2.1.5 Martrydom Described with Sacrificial Terms

Another development found in a few Second Temple texts is the description of martyrs using sacrificial language. The Prayer of Azariah is a LXX addition to the fiery furnace narrative in Daniel 3. In Azariah's prayer, he acknowledges

38 Thomas Knittel, *Das griechische "Leben Adams und Evas": Studien zu einer narrativen Anthropologie im frühen Judentum*, TSAJ 88 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 63.

39 R. Rubinkiewicz, "Apocalypse of Abraham," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 1:683.

40 Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 39; Paul Heger, *Cult as the Catalyst for Division: Cult Disputes as the Motive for Schism in the Pre-70 Pluralistic Environment*, STDJ 65 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 345.

that Jerusalem was destroyed because of the people's sins, and then he repents for those sins. If the temple was standing, confession of the nation's sins would be followed by an atoning sacrifice. However, since they had "no burnt offering [ὁλοκαύτωσις], or sacrifice [θυσία], or oblation [προσφορά], or incense [θυμίαμα], no place to make an offering before you and to find mercy" (Pr Azar 1:15; LXX Dan 3:38), Azariah prays that "with a contrite heart and a humble spirit may we be accepted, as though [ὡς] it were with burnt offerings [ἐν ὁλοκαυτώσει] of rams and bulls, or with tens of thousands of fat lambs; such may our sacrifice [θυσία] be in your sight today" (Pr Azar 1:16–17; LXX Dan 3:39–40). The martyrs do not fundamentally replace sacrifice in this text, but, since sacrifice was not possible in light of the destruction of the temple, Azariah prays that his death may be *like* (ὡς) a burnt offering in terms, presumably, of its ability to atone for the sins of the people.

Fourth Maccabees (first or second century CE[41]) picks up on this theme in describing the deaths of those martyred under the Seleucids during the Maccabeean revolution. When Eleazar is near death, he prays to God, "Be merciful to your people, and let our punishment suffice for them. Make my blood their purification [καθάρσιον], and take my life in exchange for theirs" (6:28–29). This text depicts Eleazar's death both as a purification and as a substitute for the lives of all other Israelites. His death is a substitutionary death. Notable, however, is that this account of Eleazar's prayer is completely different from his prayer recounted in 2 Macc 6:24–30, which suggests that the notion of a vicarious death by martyrs is a development added by the author of *4 Maccabees* (cf. 1:11; 12:18). Another clear exposition of 4 *Maccabees*' sacrificial martyrdom is found in 17:20–22, where the author reflects on the effect of the martyrs, saying, "They having become, as it were, a ransom [ἀντίψυχον] for the sin of our nation. And through the blood of those devout ones and their death as an atoning sacrifice [τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου τοῦ θανάτου], divine Providence preserved Israel that previously had been mistreated." According to *4 Maccabees*, the blood of the martyrs purified, ransomed, and atoned; effects typically reserved for sacrifice.

41 See discussion in David A. deSilva, *4 Maccabees*, GAP (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 14–18.

2.2 Philo

2.2.1 The Efficacy of Sacrifice

2.2.1.1 Three Types of Levitical Sacrifice

Having summarized the sacrificial notions current in Second Temple Judaism, we now turn to a more in-depth examination of the Philonic corpus. Philo categorizes levitical sacrifices in three groups, each of which has its own function. The first kind of sacrifice is the burnt offering (τὸ ὁλόκαυτον), which serves to honor God. It is a completely God-oriented sacrifice offered for no other reason than to extol and thank God (*Spec. Laws* 1.67, 195–197, 283; *QE* 2.32). There is no benefit to the one presenting the burnt offering and, therefore, no selfish ambition or self-interest that accompanies it (*Spec. Laws* 1.196). The exclusively God-oriented function of the burnt offering is notable, because here Philo departs markedly from the levitical tradition. Whereas Leviticus describes the burnt offering (τό ὁλοκαύτωμα) as an atoning (ἐξιλάσκεσθαι) sacrifice that grants forgiveness of sins, Philo does not ascribe either of these benefits or any others to the burnt offering.

The second kind of sacrifice is the sacrifice of preservation (τὸ σωτήριον), which ensures that the believer participates in good things both through the preservation (σωτηρίᾳ) of blessings and through the acquisition of future goods (*Spec. Laws* 1.195–97, 283). In keeping with Lev 7:12–15, Philo considers the sacrifice of praise (τῆς αἰνέσεως) a type of τὸ σωτήριον. The sacrifice of praise, according to Philo, is offered by those who have "never at all met with any untoward happening, either of soul or body or things external," because such people have the "duty to requite God" (*Spec. Laws* 1.224).[42] Thus, Philo considers the sacrifice of praise to be a payment for received goods. Whereas the ὁλόκαυτον is a pure and uncoerced praise, the praise or thanks expressed through τὸ σωτήριον is a response of gratitude for something the person has gained.

The third kind of sacrifice is the sin offering (τὸ περὶ ἁμαρτίας), which provides "release from evils" (*Spec. Laws* 1.195; similarly 196, 283) and "the healing of the trespasses which the soul has committed" (197). Philo appears to subsume the levitical discussion of the guilt offering under the sin offering. While *Spec. Laws* 1.228–33 is an exposition of the levitical tradition on the sin offering (Lev 4:1–5:13), Philo's continued discussion of the sin offering in *Spec. Laws*

42 All translations of Philo are from *Philo*, trans. F. H. Colson et al., 12 vols, LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 1929–1953.

1.234 – 38 is clearly an exposition of Lev 5:15 – 6:7 (LXX 5:14 – 26), where the LORD gives instructions concerning the guilt offering.[43] Since Leviticus ascribes similar functions (ἐξιλάσκεσθαι and ἀφιέναι) to the sin and guilt offerings, it seems somewhat natural for Philo—who divides the types of sacrifices according to function—to combine these two kinds of sacrifices. In terms of the sin offering's function, Philo follows Leviticus (a) in identifying the sin offering as the cure for both unintentional (ἀκούσια) and intentional (ἑκούσια) sins (*Spec. Laws* 1.227, 235) and (b) in ascribing to them the efficacies of atonement, forgiveness, and purification.

Forgiveness: Philo frequently ascribes to the sin offering the attainment of ἀμνηστία ("amnesty" or "pardon"; *Spec. Laws* 1.193, 229, 236, 242)[44] and ἄφεσις ("forgiveness"; *Spec. Laws* 1.190, 237).[45] The Septuagint does not use the term ἀμνηστία when speaking of the efficacy of sacrifice, but Philo appears to use both terms to refer to the release from punishment due someone for an offense. On two occasions (*Prelim. Studies* 109; *Flaccus* 84), Philo employs these two terms in the same text, and in each case they are used interchangeably. Thus, when Philo employs these two terms in sacrificial contexts, they refer to the same sacrificial good—i.e., remission or release from the punishment due sin.

Purification: On several occasions, Philo describes the sin offering as attaining κάθαρσις ("purification"; *Spec. Laws* 1.228, 229, 233, 234, 241; *Names* 235). The purification accomplished by the sin offering is not merely a bodily purification, in the view of Philo, but it addresses the problem of moral defilement, the defilement caused by sins (ἁμαρτήματα; *Spec. Laws* 1.228) and wrong-doings (ἀδικημάτων; *Spec. Laws* 1.229).

Atonement: Philo rarely speaks of ἱλασκεσθαι as a salvific good related to sacrifice (*Names* 233 – 36; *Planting* 162; cf. κάθαρσιν ἱλασκεσθαι ["purificatory purification"[46]] in *Spec. Laws* 1.234). When he does speak of ἱλασκεσθαι, God is its object, resulting in the term being used to designate propitiation. Philo also employs the term ἐξευμενίζεσθαι ("to propitiate") to speak of propitiating God. He appears to use this term interchangeably with ἱλασκεσθαι, and on two

43 Suzanne Daniel, *De specialibus legibus I et II*, Les oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie 24 (Paris: Cerf, 1975), 146 n. 1, 152 nn. 1 – 2; Francesca Calabi, "Les sacrifices et leur signification symbolique chez Philon d'Alexandrie," in *Car c'est l'amour qui me plait, non le sacrifice*, JSJSup 88 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 107.

44 In *Dreams* 2.299 and *Moses* 2.134, ἀμνηστία is related to sacrifice in general (cf. *Flight* 99; *Dreams* 2.292). For Philo's use of ἀμνηστία in non-cultic contexts, see *Prelim. Studies* 109, 160; *Flight* 89; *Joseph* 92, 212, 239, 262; *Moses* 1.311; *Spec. Laws* 1.161; 3.128.

45 In *Spec. Laws* 1.215, ἄφεσις is related to sacrifice in general.

46 *Special Laws* 1.234 is the one instance in Philo where God is not (explicitly) the object of ἱλασκεσθαι.

occasions Philo recounts how prayer and sacrifice propitiate (ἐξευμενίζεσθαι) God (*Moses* 2.147; *Spec. Laws* 2.17).[47] Ultimately, the dearth of ascriptions of propitiation to sacrifice suggests that Philo does not consider ἱλασκεσθαι to be a significant part of the sacrificial cult.[48]

2.2.1.2 The Day of Atonement

Philo describes the Day of Atonement at length in *Spec. Laws* 1.186 – 88 and *Spec. Laws* 2.193 – 203,[49] and each account describes the Day of Atonement from a different vantage point. In *Spec. Laws* 1.186 – 88, Philo describes the Day of Atonement from the sacrificial perspective of Jerusalem and the temple. Since the Day of Atonement was a feast, it included the normal festal sacrifice (1.188), which included the sin offering for the forgiveness of sins (εἰς ἁμαρτημάτων ἄφεσιν) (*Spec. Laws* 1.190). In addition to the normal festal offerings, Philo considered the Day of Atonement a purification (κάθαρσις), which demanded additional sacrifices—a whole burnt offering, the goat sacrificed as a sin offering, and the goat sent out into the desert. The results of these sacrifices were a purification (καθάρσεως), an escape from sins (φυγῆς ἁμαρτημάτων), and amnesty (ἀμνηστία) (1.187).

In *Spec. Laws* 2.193 – 203, Philo describes the Day of Atonement as it was practiced in Alexandria, in the Diaspora.[50] Philo attempts to explain why the "feast" (ἑορτή) of the Day of Atonement is actually a fast (νηστεία), contending that the fast allows the worshipers to focus on self-control and on prayers and supplications (195 – 96). These prayers are the means by which the worshipers seek to propitiate (ἐξευμενίζεσθαι) God and to ask for ἀμνηστία for their voluntary and involuntary sins. In Philo's description of the Day of Atonement from the cultic perspective of Jerusalem (*Spec. Laws* 1.186 – 88), he fails to mention propitiation of God. However, Philo does mention propitiation in relation to prayers to God on the Day of Atonement, which fits with Philo's descriptions

47 Cf. *Dreams* 2.292; *Spec. Laws* 2.17, 196; *Abraham* 129; *Moses* 2.24, 201; *Names* 235.

48 Daniel Stökl ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century*, WUNT 163 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 114. Propitiation (ἱλασκεσθαι and ἐξευμενίζεσθαι) of God in Philo more often results from repentance, prayer, and hymns than from sacrifice (see *Alleg. Interp*. 3.174; *Dreams* 2.292; *Abraham* 129; *Moses* 2.201; *Spec. Laws* 2.196; *Rewards*, 56).

49 Cf. *Posterity* 48; *Planting* 61; *Heir* 179; *Prelim. Studies* 107; *Spec. Laws* 3.174. See James P. Scullion, "A Traditio-Historical Study of the Day of Atonement" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1991), 153; Stökl ben Ezra, *Yom Kippur*, 107 – 9.

50 Samuel Belkin, *Philo and the Oral Law*, HSS 11 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), 214; Stökl ben Ezra, *Yom Kippur*, 107.

in other places. While he does note that the scapegoat in the cultic ceremony makes atonement (*Posterity* 72), Philo more often identifies prayers and affliction as the means to propitiate God on the Day of Atonement (*Moses* 2.24; *Posterity* 48).[51]

2.2.2 The "Plain" and "Symbolic" Senses

Philo scholars frequently argue that "Philo has a thoroughly spiritualized idea of sacrifice" that "undercut[s] the importance of external rite."[52] However, recent scholars note that Philo maintains the importance of *both* the material and symbolic/spiritual cult.[53] The balance between the material and symbolic cult can be summarized in five statements.

(1) *Philo thinks highly of and defends the material cult as it is performed according to the levitical regulations in the Jerusalem temple.* Philo speaks extensively and positively about the sacrificial cult. In *Special Laws* 1, Philo discusses the temple (66–78), priests (79–161), the requirements of sacrificial victims (162–67), the daily, Sabbath, and festal sacrifices (169–193), the three categories of sacrifice (194–246), the Great Vow (247–54), and the purity of those offering sacrifices (257–98). In these passages, Philo grants the sacrificial cult great significance, and he describes at length the ritual details that ought to accompany the performance of sacrifice. Further, Philo affirms the centralization of the cult at the Jerusalem temple (*Spec. Laws* 1.68); identifies the Jerusalem temple as the most beautiful and notable temple anywhere (*Embassy* 191, 198); validates the desire for Jews—even those in Diaspora—to pilgrimage to the temple to sacrifice

51 Hayward, *Jewish Temple*, 137; Stökl ben Ezra, *Yom Kippur*, 107. Cf. *Alleg. Interp.* 3.174.

52 Daly, *Christian Sacrifice*, 397–98. Similarly, Wenschkewitz, "Spiritualisierung der Kultusbegriffe," 150–51; Williamson, *Philo and Hebrews*, 166–68; Andrea Lieber, "Between Motherland and Fatherland: Diaspora, Pilgrimage and the Spiritualization of Sacrifice in Philo of Alexandria," in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Lynn Lidonnici and Andrea Lieber, JSJSup 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 202–3; cf. Valentin Nikiprowetzky, "La spiritualisation des sacrifices et le culte sacrificiel au temple de Jérusalem chez Philon d'Alexandrie," *Sem* 17 (1967): 97–116, esp. 101–2. It is difficult to pin Nikiprowetzky down on this issue. Although his entire article emphasizes Philo's "spiritualization" of sacrifice and although he states that the true cult is the spiritual cult, he also says that the material, sacrificial cult is extremely important and the premier reality even in comparison to the spiritual cult (ibid., 113). Thus, what appear to be contradictory statements in Nikiprowetzky's work may imply a balance between the material and spiritual sacrifices in spite of his emphasis on spiritualization.

53 Jutta Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo of Alexandria*, TSAJ 84 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001); Calabi, "Sacrifices," 97–117.

(*Spec. Laws* 1.67–70); and makes this pilgrimage himself (*Providence* 2.64). All of these affirmations confirm that Philo valued the material cult.

(2) *God ordained sacrifice to train believers in piety and virtue.*[54] *This notion is the pedagogical function of sacrifice, which Philo uses to validate the literal practice of sacrifices in a way that hellenistically and philosophically inclined Jews would accept.* God has no need for sacrifice.[55] He created all things and, therefore, possesses all things. Sacrifice is simply bringing to God what he already possesses and has given to humanity out of his beneficence, so how could the Deity stand in need of what he already possesses? God instituted sacrifice, not for his own sake, but for the purpose of exercising believers in piety (esp. *Heir* 123). Scholars have designated this idea as the pedagogical function of sacrifice.[56]

Sacrifice educates the worshiper in virtue and piety, and because of this pedagogical function of sacrifice, Philo interprets large portions of the cultic rituals as σύμβολα that teach virtue and piety.[57] For instance, Philo argues that the necessity of the sacrificial animal to be without blemish is a σύμβολον that teaches those making offerings to bring souls without blemish when they approach the altar (*Spec. Laws* 1.167). Similarly, Philo contends that God uses the sin offering to remind worshipers not to sin (*Spec. Laws* 1.193), and the burnt offering is a σύμβολον of the person who repents and hastens "to that perfect [ὁλόκληρον] and wholly sound frame of mind" (*Spec. Laws* 1.253). In this manner, Philo describes the sacrificial cult not as a vulgar slaughter of animals but as an education in righteousness.[58]

54 Nikiprowetzky, "Spiritualisation," 100.

55 For this thought in Philo, see *Alleg. Interp.* 2.2; *Cherubim* 84; *Sacrifices* 97, 111; *God* 5–7; *Heir* 123; *Decalogue* 41, 81; *Spec. Laws* 1.152, 294; *QE* 2.50.

56 Calabi, "Sacrifices," esp. 109–13; Daly, *Christian Sacrifice*, 403–5. Also see Daniel, *Spec. Leg. I–II*, lxiv–lxvi.

57 Daniel, *Spec. Leg. I–II*, xix, lxi–lxvi; Daly, *Christian Sacrifice*, 403–5; Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo*, 252; Eberhard Bons, "Osée 6:6 dans le Texte Massorétique," in *Car c'est l'amour qui me plait, non le sacrifice*, ed. Eberhard Bons, JSJSup 88 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 103, 109–13. See *Cherubim* 84; *Prelim. Studies* 107; *Names* 220–21, 240; *Dreams* 1.212, 2.71–74, 299; *Moses* 2.106–8; *Decalogue* 81; *Spec. Laws* 1.68–70, 193, 202–4, 263–65.

58 Cf. *Names* 245–47; *Dreams* 2.71–74. See Otto Schmitz, *Die Opferanschauung des späteren Judentums und die Opferaussagen des Neuen Testamentes: Eine Untersuchung ihres geschichtlichen Verhältnisses* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1910), 168–70; Jean Laporte, "Sacrifice and Forgiveness in Philo of Alexandria," *SPhilo* 1 (1989): 38–39; Klawans, *Sacrifice*; Calabi, "Sacrifices," 98–102.

Hellenistic philosophers and writers rejected and defamed sacrificial cults, including the cult of the Jewish people.[59] Therefore, Philo employs a symbolic interpretation of sacrifice to defend the Jewish cult and all its seemingly arbitrary regulations. Philo justifies the levitical cult by appealing to its pedagogical function. Each sacrifice and regulation is a σύμβολον that teaches the people virtues such as piety, justice, humility, temperance, etc., which were exalted by hellenistic philosophers. Philo intends his symbolic interpretation of sacrifice to defend and validate the material cult, not to undermine its practice.[60]

(3) *Philo speaks about sacrifice on two levels—the literal/material level and the symbolic level. These two levels cannot be separated, however, because sacrifice is a composite human activity including both material sacrifice and the offering of self.* Philo's focus on internal dispositions flows naturally into the concept of offering the self. This category of the *offering of the self* encapsulates Philo's references to the consecration or dedication of oneself, one's faculties, and one's actions to God (*Planting* 164; *Drunkenness* 152; *Flight* 18, 80; *Moses* 2.108; *Spec. Laws* 1.201, 270 – 2; *QE* 2.14, 98).[61]

Typically, when Philo speaks of the sacrifice of the self, he refers to something that accompanies the material sacrifice. In *Spec. Laws* 1.201 and 270, the sacrifice of self is clearly something that accompanies material sacrifice; in fact, *Spec. Laws* 1.270 even locates the sacrifice of the self in the Jerusalem temple.[62] Thus, Philo brings together and possibly even merges the material

59 E.g., Porphyry, *De Abstinentia* 2.26; Apion's stories in Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 1.79 – 86, 2.112 – 14; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 40.3.4 – 6. Nikiprowetzky, "Spiritualisation," 98 – 102; Sidney G. Sowers, *The Hermeneutics of Philo and Hebrews: A Comparison of the Interpretation of the Old Testament in Philo Judaeus and the Epistle to the Hebrews*, BasST 1 (Zürich: EVZ, 1965), 52; Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo*, 238; Lieber, "Between Motherland and Fatherland," 202 – 3.

60 Nikiprowetzky, "Spiritualisation," 114; Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo*, 253. Philo not only defends the sacrificial system, but the whole of *Decalogue* and the four books of the *Special Laws* explain and defend the Mosaic legislation for hellenistically and philosophically minded Jews (Valentin Nikiprowetzky, *De decalogo*, Les oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie 23 [Paris: Cerf, 1965], 32; Daniel, *Spec. Leg. I–II*, lxii).

61 Bons, "Citations d'Osée 6:6," 101.

62 The temple (ναός) in *Spec. Laws* 1.270 is likely a reference to the Jerusalem temple and not a reference to the rational soul or mind (which Philo also identifies as a temple). The exhortation in *Spec. Laws* 1.270 to "come with boldness to the sanctuary [νεών]" does not suggest that the temple refers to the soul, since one would not need to go to one's own soul. Rather, this exhortation reflects the language Philo uses in *Spec. Laws* 1.69 to describe the pilgrimage to the Jerusalem temple to make sacrifices (Daniel, *Spec. Leg. I–II*, 172 n. 1). Similarly, when Philo discusses sacrifices performed in the temple, the temple Philo refers to is almost always the Jerusalem temple and not the soul (for the exception, see *Dreams* 1.215).

cult with the offering of the self. Philo articulates such a merging in *QE* 2.14, saying, "The blood of the sacrificed victims is a sign of the souls which are consecrated to God." The material sacrifice made in the material temple in Jerusalem is also an offering of that which it is a sign—the self or the soul that is consecrated to God. The offering of the self occurs in the Jerusalem temple because it accompanies the material sacrifice.

The offering of the self—a kind of symbolic cult—focuses on the intentions of the person offering sacrifices, whereas the material cult concerns the proper performance of the levitical rituals. The material and symbolic cults, therefore, "are on two different levels."[63] Along with the material sacrifices, the worshipers also offer themselves so that their intentions align with the purpose of the sacrifices. The offering of the self, therefore, is "of a different quality, neither replacing nor disqualifying the material offering brought with the right attitude."[64] While occurring on different levels, the symbolic and material cults must coincide so that the intentions of the person offering the sacrifice match the purpose of the sacrifice. The two cannot be separated from each other. Philo knew of contemporaries who looked at the "symbols" (σύμβολα) of the laws while neglecting their "literal" (ῥητούς) sense (*Migration* 89). Philo, in contrast, argued that the symbolic interpretation of sacrifice cannot be separated from the actual material practice of sacrifice. He likens the relationship between "literal" and "symbolic" interpretations to the relationship between the body and soul (*Migration* 93). Although Philo considers the soul superior to the body (*Spec. Laws* 1.201, 258, 269), the ceremonial laws still must be cared for just as the body is cared for with food, drink, clothes, and shelter. Further, the comparison to the body and soul emphasizes the interconnection between the "literal" and "symbolic" aspects of sacrifice. Just as humans are composite beings consisting of both body and soul, so sacrifice is a composite human activity involving both material sacrifice according to levitical regulations ("literal") and the offering of the self to God in complete devotion and piety ("symbolic").[65] It is only by following "the letter of the laws [τῶν ῥητῶν νόμων]" that the believers "shall gain a clearer conception of those things of which these are the symbols [σύμβολα]" (*Migration* 93).

63 Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo*, 239. Similarly, Bons, "Citations d'Osée 6:6," 105.

64 Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo*, 239. Contra Nikiprowetzky, "Spiritualisation," 100 – 102.

65 Daniel, *Spec. Leg. I–II*, lxv–lxvi. Similarly, Thomas H. Tobin, *The Creation of Man: Philo and the History of Interpretation*, CBQMS 14 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1983), 154 – 57.

(4) *The efficacy of sacrifice is not ex opere operato;*[66] *rather, sacrifices are only accepted by God and, therefore, efficacious if the worshiper has the appropriate intentions and piety.* Since the literal and symbolic aspects of sacrifice must correlate, God only accepts the material sacrifices that are accompanied by right dispositions, the offering of the self.[67] In keeping with this idea, Philo, like the prophets, declares that God accepts the offerings of the righteous but does not accept the offerings of the wicked. The offerings of the wicked are nothing and do not attain their intended efficacy.[68]

(5) *In the absence of material sacrifice, the offering of the self may be accepted by God even if it lacks a material sacrifice; however, the offering of the self typically accompanies and does not replace material sacrifice.*[69] The proposed integration of the material and symbolic cults in points (2) and (3) must account for two occasions in which Philo states that the offering of the self is accepted by God as a pleasing sacrifice even when a material offering is not present (*Spec. Laws* 1.272, *Moses* 2.108).[70] Concerning these statements, one must remember that the acceptance of such an offering of piety that lacks a material sacrifice is the exception to the rule. Both texts begin with the assumption that the offering of self accompanies the material sacrifice. In *Spec. Laws* 1.269–72, the offering of self is discussed in the context of sacrificial purification, and the offering of self takes place in the Jerusalem temple (presumably along with material sacrifice). Likewise, in *Moses* 2.106–8, the offering of self is mentioned in the context of Philo's discussion of the consumption of sacrifices on the sacrificial altar (θυσιαστήριον). In each instance, Philo then proceeds to introduce a hypothetical exception: "*though* [κἄν] the worshippers bring nothing else" (*Spec. Laws* 1.272; emphasis added) and "*even if* [κἄν] no victim at all is brought to the altar" (*Moses* 2.108; emphasis added). Thus, although God may accept the offering of the self as an adequate sacrifice even when the material sacrifice is absent, the sufficiency of a non-material sacrifice is the exception to the rule for Philo, and it may be a concession to his Diaspora audience and context.

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66 Daly, *Christian Sacrifice*, 399; Richard D. Hecht, "Patterns of Exegesis in Philo's Interpretation of Leviticus," *SPhilo* 6 (1979–1980): 79; Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo*, 238; similarly, Thompson, "Hellenistic Concepts of Sacrifice," 577; Calabi, "Sacrifices," 98.

67 Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo*, 240; Calabi, "Sacrifices," 99.

68 *Worse* 21; *Planting* 107–8, 164; *Moses* 2.106–8; *Spec. Laws* 1.257, 269–72, 275, 277, 283–84, 290; 2.35.

69 Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo*, 241.

70 Cf. *Planting* 108.

2.3 Qumran Literature

We now turn our attention to the sacrifice theology of the Qumran Community as exhibited in the sectarian literature found in the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS).[71] The DSS contain copies of the Pentateuch, *Jubilees*, *1 Enoch*, and Tobit, but we will ignore those in this section since they are addressed above. Also, the DSS contain literature not only written by members of the sectarian Community but also literature written prior to and outside of the existence of the Community. We will consider the literature written in the Community *and* outside the Community, because both shaped the self-understanding of the Qumran Community and, therefore, can be considered as sectarian literature in terms of use.

2.3.1 Relationship to the Temple

The Qumran Community had a contentious and conflicted relationship to the Jerusalem temple. On the one hand, the sectarian Community appears to have separated itself from the cultic practice in Jerusalem. On the other hand, much of the Qumran literature is preoccupied with elucidating the proper administration of the cult as it should take place in Jerusalem. Since the Community's view of sacrifice may have been affected by its view of the temple, we begin by examining the Community's thoughts regarding the temple.

2.3.1.1 Separation from the Temple

The Qumran Community withdrew from the Jerusalem temple and refused to participate in its cultic practice, not because they rejected the temple and the cult themselves, but because they rejected the contemporary administration of the temple and cult. While the sectarian literature witnesses to numerous disa-

71 Except where noted, the original text and English translations for the *Rule of the Community* (1QS) and *War Scroll* (1QM) come from James H. Charlesworth, et al., eds., *Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, vol. 1 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, PTSDSSP 1 (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994); the *Damascus Document* (CD) from James H. Charlesworth, et al., eds., *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, vol. 2 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, PTSDSSP 2 (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995); the *Temple Scroll* (11QT[a]) from James H. Charlesworth, et al., eds. *Temple Scroll and Related Documents*, vol. 7 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations* PTSDSSP 7 (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011); and all other DSS texts, from volumes of the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert.

greements between the Qumran Community and the contemporary temple practice, the considerations that likely resulted in the Community's withdrawal from the temple can be lumped into two categories.

First, the Qumran Community thought the contemporary priests improperly administrated the sacrificial system.[72] The Qumran Community interpreted the levitical law differently from the Hasmonean priests (esp. *Temple Scroll*[a] [11QT[a]]; 4QMMT),[73] requiring high standards of purity and "more rigorous requirements for priests than those imposed on them by Scripture."[74] In addition, the Jerusalem temple operated with a lunar calendar in opposition to the solar calendar (364 days, 52 weeks) of the Qumran Community.[75] For this reason, the Jerusalem temple celebrated the Jewish holidays on what the Community perceived to be the wrong days (cf. 1QpHab).[76] The Qumran Community refused to participate in cultic practice performed by a priesthood that did not conform to their interpretations of the sacrificial law, because sacrificing through the mediation of such a lax priesthood could lead those offering the sacrifice into sin (4QMMT[a] 1 II, 13 – 14; cf. 11QT[a] XXXV, 10 – 15).

Second, the Qumran Community considered the temple to have been defiled by the sinful actions of Israel and the priests. *Pesher Habakkuk* accuses the contemporary priests of accumulating riches from plundering the peoples (VIII, 8 – 13; IX, 4 – 5).[77] These actions defiled the sanctuary (XII, 8 – 9; 11QT[a] LI, 11).[78] The

72 Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 156 – 58.

73 Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Community without Temple: The Qumran Community's Withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple," in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*, ed. Beate Ego et al., WUNT 118 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 268 – 70; similarly Gärtner, *Temple and Community*, 14; Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1995), 100 – 120.

74 Robert A. Kugler, "Rewriting Rubrics: Sacrifice and the Religion of Qumran," in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 99 (discussing 4QMMT); similarly Wardle, *Jerusalem Temple*, 140 – 43.

75 4QMMT[a]; CD VI, 14 – 19; *Temple Scroll*; *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*; esp. Heger, *Cult as Catalyst*, 344; also Schüssler Fiorenza, "Cultic Language," 164; Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Theology of the Temple Scroll," *JQR* 85 (1994): 116; Schiffman, "Community without Temple," 270 – 71; Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 157 – 58.

76 Joseph M. Baumgarten, "Yom Kippur in the Qumran Scrolls and Second Temple Sources," *DSD* 6 (1999): 184 – 91.

77 Also see 4Q390(4QpsMoses[e]) I, 1 – 6; 4Q169(4QpNah) 3 – 4 I, 9–II, 11; 4Q175(4QTest) 28 – 30.

78 Joseph M. Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and Worship among the Jewish Sectarians of the Dead Sea (Qumrân) Scrolls," *HTR* 46 (1953): 19; Schüssler Fiorenza, "Cultic Language," 164; Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 147 – 48; Wardle, *Jerusalem Temple*, 67 – 71, 84 – 85.

Damascus Document focuses on the sins of all Israel, not just the priests. It accuses Israel of greed, stealing, abusing the poor, and sexual immorality (CD VI, 14–21; V, 6–8; XVI, 13–14, XII, 1–2; XX, 21–24; cf. 4Q390[4QpsMoses^{e}] 2 I, 8–10; 11QT^{a} XLV), and these activities tainted the cultic practice.[79]

Thus, due to the defilement of the temple through impurity and the improper execution of the levitical cult, the Qumran Community withdrew from the Jerusalem temple "in order not to share in its pollution and defilement."[80] They could neither enter the temple (CD VI, 11–12) nor send sacrifices to the temple through another person (CD XI, 18–20). The Qumran Community was a "house of division" (בית פלג) that had left the "Holy City," so as not to participate in the defiled temple (CD XX, 21–23; cf. 4QMMT^{a} 92; 1QS VIII, 13). The cult, then, was likely the primary catalyst for the sect's separation from Jerusalem.[81]

2.3.1.2 Anticipation of Restored Control of the Jerusalem Temple

Still, the Qumran Community did not reject the theological validity of the sacrificial cult or its centralization in Jerusalem; they simply rejected the contemporary administration of the cult. The Community hoped that they would regain control of the Jerusalem temple and reinstitute the proper cultic practice in accordance with their sectarian rulings.[82] The *War Scroll* and *Temple Scroll* speak of a day when the Community's priests will control the temple and administer the sacrificial cult properly (1QM I, 1–17; II, 3–5; 11QT XXIX, 3–8; cf. 4Q171 [4QPs^{a}] II, 2–4, 10–11; III, 10–13).[83]

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79 Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 150–52; cf. Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and Worship," 143–49.

80 Schüssler Fiorenza, "Cultic Language," 165. Similarly, J. L. Teicher, "Priests and Sacrifices in the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Question of Method in Historical Research," *JJS* 5 (1954): 93–99; Gärtner, *Temple and Community*, 14, 30; Schiffman, "Community without Temple," 267–84, esp. 268–71; Heger, *Cult as Catalyst*, 343.

81 For a summary of the proposal that members of the Qumran Community continued to participate in the Jerusalem cult, see Wardle, *Jerusalem Temple*, 145–50.

82 Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Essenes and the Temple—A Reappraisal," in *Studies in Qumran Law*, SJLA 24 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 57; Florentino García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran*, STDJ 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 206; André Caquot, "La secte de Qoumrân et le temple (Essai de synthèse)," *RHPR* 72 (1992): 3–7; Schiffman, "Community without Temple," 274–78; Kugler, "Rewriting Rubrics," 92; Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 147.

83 Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977), 1:182–88; García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 204–5; Florentino García Martínez, "The Temple Scroll and the New Jerusalem," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 2:438–40; Schiffman, "Temple Scroll," 115–18. Contra Michael Owen Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*

2.3.1.3 Expectation of a God-Made, Eschatological Temple

Regaining control of the temple, however, was not the height of the Community's temple expectations. Rather, the Community believed that, after a time of regained control of the temple (11QT[a] XXIX, 3–8), God would create his own temple (XXIX, 9; cf. 4QFlor I, 2–3).[84] This God-made, new temple accompanies the new creation, and it is likely the temple alluded to in the fragmentary *New Jerusalem* manuscripts.[85]

2.3.2 Sacrifice Theology

The Community's relationship to and hopes for the temple help to divide the sacrificial texts in the DSS into two categories. First, there are texts that discuss the proper administration of the levitical sacrifices. The Community continued to focus on these regulations because they served two functions: (1) a continued polemic against the Jerusalem temple and (2) a preservation of the proper practice for use when the Qumran Community regained control of the temple.[86] These texts depict the ideal sacrificial practice and its efficacy. Second, some texts address the Community's provisional adaptations to life without access to the temple—i.e., how the Community filled the void of cultic worship and sacrificial efficacy in the interim until they were restored to the Jerusalem temple. We will look at each group of texts independently.

2.3.2.1 The Ideal Sacrificial Cult

While the DSS discuss sacrifice at length, few texts articulate the efficacy attributed to the sacrifices. This scarcity is not because the covenanters considered the

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from Qumran Cave II, SAOC 49 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990), 64–84.

84 Hermann Lichtenberger, "Atonement and Sacrifice in the Qumran Community," in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism: Volume II*, ed. William Scott Green, BJS 9 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1980), 160, 166; Caquot, "Qoumrân et temple," 8–14; Schiffman, "Community without Temple," 279–80; Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 159; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 55; Wardle, *Jerusalem Temple*, 150–53.

85 Kugler, "Rewriting Rubrics," 93–94; cf. Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 52. For the *New Jerusalem* texts, see 2Q24; 4Q554; 5Q15; 11Q18.

86 Lichtenberger, "Atonement and Sacrifice," 161; cf. Lawrence H. Schiffman, "'ôlâ and ḥaṭṭā't in the *Temple Scroll*," in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*, ed. David P. Wright, David Noel Freedman, and Avi Hurvitz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 48.

sacrifices to be inefficacious, but because the efficacy of sacrifice was not a debated issue. The contentious matters concerned how to properly interpret the sacrificial laws and, therefore, how to properly administrate the sacrificial cult. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the few statements regarding the efficacy of sacrifice are consistent with Leviticus and other Second Temple texts.

The primary efficacy attributed to sacrifice is atonement (כפר).[87] Notably, the focus of atonement is always on people who need atonement for their guilt (אשם; 11QT[a] XVIII, 7) and sin (עון; 1Q22[1QDM] III, 7).[88] In contrast to Leviticus, the atonement of the temple and its furniture is never mentioned.[89] On three occasions, atonement is paired with forgiveness (סלח) in a way consistent with the pattern in Leviticus (11QT[a] XVIII, 7–8; XXVI, 9–10; XXVII, 2), and consecration (מלא) and sanctification (קדש) are each mentioned once (11QT[a] XV, 14 and XXXIII, 7, respectively).[90]

Consistent with the rest of Second Temple texts, the Qumran literature states that the atoning efficacy of sacrifices is not achieved *ex opere operato*.[91] Rather, there is a strong emphasis on the sacrifices' need to please God and appease his will (1QM II, 5; 4Q512 29–32 VII 8–11; 11QT[a] XXIX, 5–7), and God's acceptance of a sacrifice is connected with its "pleasant odor" (ריח ניחוח), a phrase commonly used in the levitical regulations of the Pentateuch. The words "pleasant odor" repeatedly describe how the burnt offerings create a fragrance that appeases God (11QT[a] XV, 13; XVI, 10; XX, 9; XXIII, 17; XXVIII, 6; XXXIV, 14). God's acceptance of an offering appears to rest on two general conditions. First, the sacrifice had to be performed according to the cultic regulations of the Community, which

87 For כפר through עולה, see 1QM II, 5; 4Q512 29–32 VII, 8–9, 21. For כפר through חטאות, see 11QT[a] XVI, 12–18; XVIII, 2–8. For כפר through Day of Atonement, see 11QT[a] XXV, 15; XXVI, 7; 1Q22(1QDM) III, 7–IV, 12; 11Q13(11QMelch) II, 4–8. Cf. 1QS II, 25–III, 12; CD IV, 6–12.

88 Wine is the object of כפר in 11QT[a] XXI, 8, oil in 11QT[a] XXII, 15–16, and God (אל) in 4Q400 (4QShirShab[a]) I, 16.

89 For example, compare the descriptions of the Day of Atonement in Leviticus 16 and 11QT[a] XXV, 10–XXVII, 10. Whereas Leviticus includes atonement for portions of the tabernacle, the *Temple Scroll* only describes atonement for people.

90 Cleansing or purifying (טהר) are at times related to sacrificial practice (1QS III; 4Q512 29–32 VII, 9–10), but they are most often the result of washings of water or red heifer ashes (e. g., 1QS III; IV, 21; V, 13; 4Q512 1–6 XII; 11QT[a] L–LI).

91 Klinzing, *Umdeutung des Kultus*, 99–102; Lichtenberger, "Atonement and Sacrifice," 163; Paul Garnet, "Atonement: Qumran and the New Testament," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 3 of *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 59; Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Temple, Sacrifice and Priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, STDJ 85 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 170–71.

they considered to reflect God's will for sacrifices (CD IV, 1–10). Second, following the psalms and prophets, an acceptable sacrifice required the worshiper to be righteous and to have the proper inner dispositions (1QS II, 25–III, 5–12).

2.3.2.2 Provisional Adaptations

Since the Qumran Community separated itself from the Jerusalem temple and could not participate in its worship or sacrifice, it developed temporary and provisional substitutes for these institutions. Most scholars divide the Community's provisional adaptations into two related categories: (1) offerings of piety replaced levitical sacrifices and (2) the Community replaced the temple.[92] In what follows, we will examine in what manner and to what extent the offerings of piety and the Community replaced animal sacrifice and the temple.

Offerings of Piety

The first provisional adaptation is the *offering of piety* or what is commonly called "spiritual sacrifice."[93] The *Damascus Document* likens prayer (תפלה) to "an agreeable meal offering" (CD XI, 18–21), and 11QPsalms^{a}(11Q5) XVIII, 9–11 states that glorifying the most high is like whole offerings. Still, the most significant mention of an offering of piety is found in *Rule of the Community* IX, 1–6. In the event that a member of the Community commits an inadvertent sin, the *Rule of the Community* states,

> In order to atone for the guilt of iniquity and for the unfaithfulness of sin, and for approval for the earth, without the flesh of burnt offerings and without the fats of sacrifice—the offering of the lips in compliance with the decree will be like the pleasant aroma of justice and the perfectness of behaviour will be acceptable like a freewill offering. (1QS IX, 3–6)[94]

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92 Some scholars add Scripture interpretation and reading to the list of replacements. See Steven Fraade, "Interpretive Authority in the Studying Community at Qumran," *JJS* 44 (1993): 46–69, esp. 42; Kugler, "Rewriting Rubrics," 90–112, esp. 92.

93 Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and Worship," 154; Teicher, "Priests and Sacrifices," 9; Klinzing, *Umdeutung des Kultus*, 93–106; Gärtner, *Temple and Community*, 44–46; Schüssler Fiorenza, "Cultic Language," 166; Lichtenberger, "Atonement and Sacrifice," 164; Schiffman, "Community without Temple," 272–74; Kugler, "Rewriting Rubrics," esp. 90–91; Esther G. Chazon, "The Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts: An Analysis of the Prayers (4Q503)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 217.

94 Translation from Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1:91.

The infinitival construct "in order to atone [לכפר]" is followed by a string of nouns that are held together by prepositions (מן, ל, כ) and conjunctions (ו) and that are very difficult to interpret, resulting in diverse interpretations and significant debate. However, it appears that these nouns function as a list of the activities the Community performed (or did not perform) to achieve atonement. The list of nouns begins with מבשר עולות ומחלבי זבח, in which the two occurrences of מן function privatively,[95] indicating that atonement was not accomplished through the flesh of burnt offering or the fats of sacrifice. The Community did not have access to these regular means of achieving atonement for inadvertent sins; therefore, atonement had to be achieved by other means: (1) "the offering of the lips" (תרומת שפתים; cf. Hos 14:3) and (2) "the perfectness of behaviour" (תמים דרך). Because these two activities achieve atonement in the place of the typical sacrificial means, they are likened to sacrifices. The "offering of lips" is "like the pleasant aroma [כניחוח] of justice," and the "perfectness of behavior" is "like a freewill offering" (כנדבת מנחת).

A few items in this text are significant to note. First, the "correctness of behavior" clearly refers to the righteous living so important to the Qumran Community, and the "offering of lips" likely refers to the Community's worship. It is often assumed that this phrase refers to prayer (cf. CD XI, 20–21);[96] however, the other instances of תרומת שפתים in the *Rule of the Community* occur in the context of communal worship and are the means by which one blesses (ברך) God (IX, 26; X, 6, 14). Thus, the "offering of lips" is likely a more inclusive term for worship of God that includes prayer (cf. 4Q510[4QShir^{a}] 63–64 II 3–4). Second, this text does not denigrate sacrifice or try to replace it permanently with offerings of piety, as some scholars suggest.[97] Rather, it is in the absence from the temple, resulting in the inability to offer sacrifices, that the author elevates acts of piety to the level of sacrifice. The author likens offerings of piety to levitical sacrifices (using the preposition כ) not to diminish sacrifice but to attribute

95 Klinzing, *Umdeutung des Kultus*, 38–41; Lichtenberger, "Atonement and Sacrifice," 162; Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, CCWJCW 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 138–39; Caquot, "Qoumrân et temple," 9; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Study Edition*, 1:91.

96 Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and Worship," 149; Bilhah Nitzan, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Jewish Liturgy," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. James R. Davila, STDJ 46 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 195–210.

97 Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and Worship," 149; A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning*, NTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 225; Klinzing, *Umdeutung des Kultus*, 38; Nitzan, "DSS and Jewish Liturgy," 198.

the significance of sacrifice (i.e., atonement) to the acts of piety. The offering of lips and correctness of behavior, therefore, are provisional adaptations that compensate for the inability to offer sacrifice.[98]

Community as Temple

The second provisional adaptation is the notion of *Community as temple*.[99] The Qumran literature ascribes two functions to the Community that were typically

98 Jean Carmignac, "L'utilité ou l'inutilité des sacrifices sanglants dans la 'Règle de la Communauté' de Qumrân," *RB* 63 (1956): 529; Klinzing, *Umdeutung des Kultus*, 40; Wardle, *Jerusalem Temple*, 156–57.

99 For those who promote the "Community as Temple" notion, see, e.g., Gärtner, *Temple and Community*, 16–46; Klinzing, *Umdeutung des Kultus*, esp. 50–93; Schüssler Fiorenza, "Cultic Language," 166; Schiffman, "Community without Temple," 272; Heger, *Cult as Catalyst*, esp. 354; Schmidt, *Pensée du Temple*, 130–88.

While this work agrees with those who argue that the Qumran Community had a sense of Community as temple, some of the arguments in favor of this view are more convincing than others. The most significant arguments for "Community as Temple" derive from the transference of temple functions to the Community (as discussed in what follows); however, scholars have also argued that the Qumran literature ascribes temple nomenclature to the Community. These arguments are far from conclusive, but they may add some support to this viewpoint. Qumran literature describes the Community using the term *house* (בית). Such usage is most prevalent in *The Rule of the Community*, where the sect is described as "the house of truth in Israel" (1QS V, 6), "a holy house for Israel" (VIII, 5), "a house of perfection and truth in Israel" (VIII, 9), "a holy house for Aaron," and "a house of the Community for Israel (IX, 6; cf. CD III, 19; XX, 10, 13, 22). Since the term *house* (בית) is at times used in the Old Testament to refer to the temple, some scholars think its usage in the Qumran documents is "clearly a metaphorical designation for the Temple" (Schiffman, "Community without Temple," 272). However, בית is a multivalent term, its use elsewhere in the Qumran literature does not denote a cultic or temple reference, and the sectarian documents fall short of using more explicit terms in order to designate the Community. Thus, it is unclear whether the Qumran literature employs the term בית in order to equate the Community with the temple, to designate the Community as the dwelling place of God, or to identify a group of people (e.g., the house of Judah) (Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 165). For example, in the *Rule of the Community* text discussed above relating to the offerings of piety, at the time the community performs their offerings of piety "the Community shall set themselves apart (like) a holy house [בית קודש] for Aaron, in order to enter the holy of holies [קודש קודשים], and (like) a house of the Community for Israel, (for) those who walk in perfection" (1QS IX, 6). It is unclear, in this instance, whether the Community becomes a temple (בית) that contains a holy of holies or (more likely) whether the Community becomes like the group of Aaronic priests set apart and consecrated (קדש) for the task of entering the holy of holies.

Scholars often appeal to the phrase "sanctuary of man" (מקדש אדם) in *4QFlorilegium* 1 I, 6 as an unambiguous transference of temple terminology to the Qumran Community. The meaning of this phrase, however, is unclear. The extant text of *4QFlorilegium* begins with a discussion of the eschatological temple (or temple of the last days), which is identified as the "temple of

reserved for the temple. One primary function that transferred from the temple to the Community was atonement. Interestingly, however, the members of the Community could not enact atonement like the priests in the temple (with one exception; 1QS V, 6). Rather, God enacted atonement for the Community (CD II, 5; III, 18; IV, 6–10; 1QS II, 8; III, 6; XI, 14; 1QH[a] IV, 12; XII, 37; 2 I, 13), for those who repent from their wickedness (CD II, 5; XX, 27–34; 1QS II, 8; cf. 4QMMT[a] 110–14), and for those who live according to the covenant and its ordinances (CD IV, 7–10). Atonement depends on living in a way pleasing to and accepted by God, and the Qumran Community walked in perfection and properly interpreted Scripture. While the Community awaited their restoration to the temple, they

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YHWH" (מקדש יהוה). God's glory will be in that temple forever, which 4QFlor contrasts to the "temple of Israel" (מקדש ישראל) that was laid waste because of the people's sins (4QFlor 1 i 1–7). Then 4QFlor states, "And he commanded to build for himself a temple of man (מקדש אדם), to offer him in it, before him, the works of thanksgiving" (6–7). Numerous interpretations of the מקדש אדם have been offered; the most prominent of those interpretations are the following five. (1) It is the *eschatological* temple that consists of or is made up of human beings, in which people sacrifice offerings of piety. The Qumran community already begins to live into and become such a *temple consisting of human beings* (e.g., Gärtner, *Temple and Community*, 34–35; Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Exclusion of 'Netinim' and Proselytes in 4Q Florilegium" in *Studies in Qumran Law*, SJLA 24 [Leiden: Brill, 1977], 82–84; Wardle, *Jerusalem Temple*, 155–62). (2) It is a *provisional temple consisting of human beings* that functions until the Community is restored to the Jerusalem Temple (e.g., Devorah Dimant, "*4QFlorilegium* and the Idea of the Community as Temple," in *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky* ז״ל, ed. André Caquot, Mireille Hadas-Lebel, and Jean Riaud [Leuven: Peeters, 1986], 165–89; Schmidt, *Pensée du Temple*, 132–33; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 57). (3) It is the *concrete eschatological temple* that is built *among human beings* (e.g., García Martinez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 208–9; similarly Klinzing, *Umdeutung des Kultus*, 80–87; R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple: The Church in the New Testament*, Oxford Theological Mongraphs [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969], 50–51). (4) It is the *Solomonic temple*, which was among human beings (e.g., Daniel R. Schwartz, "The Three Temples of 4QFlorilegium," *RevQ* 10 [1979]: 83–91). (5) It is a *temple of Adam* that is a fulfillment of the paradise sanctuary (e.g., Michael O. Wise, "*4QFlorilegium* and the Temple of Adam," *RevQ* 15 [1991]: 103–32; George J. Brooke, "Miqdash Adam, Eden, and the Qumran Community," in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*, ed. Beate Ego, Armin Lange, Peter Pilhofer, and Kathrin Ehlers, WUNT 118 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999], esp. 288–91). Of these proposals, option (3) the concrete eschatological temple is the most likely, because the positive description of the מקדש אדם would match the context in which the eschatological temple is positively contrasted to the defiled temple of Israel. Still, option (2) the provisional temple of human beings is also possible, if *4QFlorilegium* alludes to three different temples.

Thus, while the Qumran literature contains some language that is suggestive of temple terminology being transferred to the Community, this evidence does not conclusively support the overall position held here.

trusted that, based on their righteous living and purity, God would grant them atonement, even while they were unable to offer sacrifices in the temple.[100]

The other primary function that transferred from the temple to the Community was worship. Because the Jerusalem temple was impure, the ability to approach God there in worship had been compromised, and the Qumran Community became the only place where proper worship could occur. For this reason, the Community focused intensely on the purity and cleanliness required to approach God,[101] and the Community required all its members to follow various purity regulations that the Pentateuch only required of priests,[102] resulting in some Qumran literature transferring priestly terms to the Community as a whole.[103]

Thus, in their absence from the Jerusalem temple, the Qumran sectarians considered the Community to be the place where one could worship God and find atonement. To that extent, the sectarians had a notion of *Community as temple*. The Community did not ultimately replace the temple, but it was a provisional adaptation that addressed the functional void created by their absence from the temple. They continued to hope for restoration to the temple, where atonement and worship could again be practiced according to the Pentateuchal regulations.[104]

2.4 Conclusion

Having completed our examination of sacrificial theologies current in Second Temple Judaism, we are in a position to draw a number of conclusions. First, the sacrificial cult was a significant institution in the first century CE. No Jewish texts prior to 70 CE speak negatively about the sacrificial cult. While there were plenty of texts critiquing the contemporary administration of the cult in Jerusalem, the depth of concern over temple issues speaks to the pride of place that the temple and cult served in first-century, Second Temple Judaism. Even the Qumran Community, which had separated itself from the Jerusalem temple, esteemed the sacrificial cult in its essence as prescribed by Scripture. There was by no means a trajectory of diminished concern for the levitical sacrifices. Rather, as

100 Schüssler Fiorenza, "Cultic Language," 165; Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 167.

101 Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and Worship," 147; Schiffman, "Community without Temple," 273 – 74.

102 For a discussion of these matters, see Gärtner, *Temple and Community*, 5 – 6; Kugler, "Rewriting Rubrics," 91; Wardle, *Jerusalem Temple*, 162.

103 1QS VIII, 5 – 7; IX, 6; 4Q511(4QShir^{b}) 35 I, 3 – 4.

104 Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 147, 165 – 68.

Josephus says about his contemporaries, they would have preferred to lose their lives than to stop offering sacrifices (*Ant*. 15.248; 16.35).[105]

Second, the Second Temple texts continued to ascribe to sacrifices the efficacies given them in Leviticus. The primary efficacy attributed to sacrifices in Second Temple texts is atonement (כִּפֶּר; [ἐξ]ιλάσκεσθαι). Interestingly, Philo speaks very little of the atoning efficacy of sacrifice; in contrast, the DSS highlight atonement almost exclusively as sacrifice's primary salvific good. Secondarily, Second Temple texts describe sacrifice as achieving forgiveness of sins and purification. Philo again differs from the rest of the Second Temple literature, because the main efficacy Philo attributes to the sin offering is ἀμνηστία/ἄφεσις.

Third, while Leviticus discusses the atonement of places and materials, there is a dearth of texts in Second Temple Judaism that speak of atonement for the temple (see Josephus *J.W.* 5.385); rather, Second Temple texts focus the benefit of atonement on human beings who need their sins atoned.

Fourth, while humans are typically the object of atonement, in keeping with Leviticus, Second Temple texts also make God the object of atonement, thereby identifying atonement with the propitiation of God (*Sib. Or.* 3:624–29; Philo, *Names* 233–36; *Planting* 162; cf. *Dreams* 2.292; *Spec. Laws* 2.17, 196; *Abraham* 129; *Moses* 2.24, 201; *Names* 235; Josephus, *Ant*. 7.333; 13.230). Possibly the most conspicuous in this regard are the two significant heavenly temple texts that will be discussed in the next chapter—*ShirShabb* (4Q400 1 I, 15–16) and *T. Levi* 3:4–6. When the angels make atonement through heavenly sacrifice, they propitiate God.

Fifth, Second Temple texts emphasize that sacrifice is not *ex opere operato*. In order to be efficacious, sacrifices must be accepted by God. Since God is just, he accepts the offerings of the righteous, and he rejects the offerings of the unrighteous. Sacrifices must be accompanied by piety and by proper intentions. These notions appear in almost all Second Temple texts that discuss sacrifice.

Sixth, since Second Temple texts emphasize the need for piety and good intentions, there is continued transference of sacrificial terminology to acts of noncultic piety. These offerings of piety typically are a means by which Second Temple authors emphasize the need for a correspondence between the external rituals of the cultic sacrifices and the internal dispositions of the worshiper. In the DSS, offerings of piety function as provisional adaptations to life without a temple. However, the Qumran Community did not consider the offerings of

105 For a more extensive discussion of the high view of the temple in Jewish texts, see Wardle, *Jerusalem Temple*, 13–45.

piety to be permanent replacements that functioned in an ideal fashion or in a manner better than the temple cult.

3 Heavenly Cult in Second Temple Judaism

Since (as we will find in ch. 4) Hebrews speaks of a heavenly sanctuary where a heavenly being offers a sacrifice, it is necessary now to examine Second Temple texts that mention a heavenly cult, and a couple of important distinctions need to be made to determine which texts relate to this theme.

First, essential to a heavenly cult is a heavenly temple. In terms of a heavenly temple, however, we are interested in those texts that describe a temple or sanctuary in heaven and not those texts that describe the entire cosmos (or "heavens") as a temple (e. g., Josephus and Philo).[1] These two ideas are quite distinct, and usually a text articulates one or the other but not both.[2]

Second, even among texts that describe a temple in heaven, one must distinguish between a heavenly pattern of the temple, a heavenly temple awaiting a future descent to earth, and a heavenly temple filled with heavenly beings that perform cultic activities. All of these ideas likely developed out of the comments in Exodus, where God reveals to Moses the pattern (παράδειγμα; 25:9), type (τύπον; 25:40), and form (εἶδος; 26:30) of the temple and its furnishings. For some interpreters, such as Philo, the pattern for the temple was not an actual or standing temple in heaven, but it was simply an incorporeal model, an archetypal sketch, or forms of a temple (*Moses* 2.74 – 76). Such an incorporeal model may be what is meant in *Pseudo-Philo* (*L.A.B.*) 11:15 (first century CE[3]), which recounts that Moses saw the likeness of the tabernacle in order to make it according to that pattern. An archetypal sketch or incorporeal pattern cannot contain a heavenly cult like that found in Hebrews, and, therefore, such texts are not relevant to our survey.[4]

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1 For a discussion of "Temple as Cosmos" texts, see Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 114 – 28. Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.102; *Cherubim* 23 – 26; *Planting* 26 – 27, 50; *Heir* 75; *Prelim. Studies* 116 – 17; *Dreams* 1.185 – 87; *Moses* 2.71 – 75, 88, 98, 102 – 3; *Spec. Laws* 1.66; *QE* 2.52, 82, 90 – 96; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.123, 180 – 81.

2 Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 111. Klawans notes several scholars who do not differentiate between these two categories sufficiently (ibid., 279 nn. 4 – 7).

3 Daniel J. Harrington, "Pseudo-Philo," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 2:299.

4 Philo does describe the heavenly tabernacle as being occupied by priests who are immortal beings (*Dreams* 1.34) or angels (*Spec. Laws* 1.66), and the high priest is the Logos (*Dreams* 1.215; *Flight* 108 – 10, 118). However, the noetic realm is "without transient events and is unchanging" (*QE* 2.91), which does not allow for the conducting of a heavenly cult—i. e., the offering of sacrifice by a heavenly priesthood in a heavenly sanctuary.

Other interpreters, however, thought a temple existed in heaven that was the model after which the earthly temple was built. *Wisdom of Solomon* 9:8 alludes to Solomon's duty to build a temple—"a copy [μίμημα] of the holy tent that [God] prepared from the beginning" (cf. 1 Chr 28:11–19). While the heavenly tent prepared from the beginning could be an incorporeal pattern in keeping with the other Platonic categories employed by *Wisdom of Solomon*, the identification of the earthly temple as a copy of the heavenly tent—in contrast to the above examples in which the earthly temple is built after a likeness or pattern—suggests that a temple actually stood in heaven.

Over time, speculation concerning the heavenly temple grew, and eventually the ideas surrounding Ezekiel's vision of a future temple (chs. 40–48) began to blend with the traditions concerning the pattern shown to Moses. For instance, the *Lives of the Prophets* (early first century CE[5]) states that Ezekiel, like Moses, "saw the pattern of the Temple, with its wall and broad outer wall, just as Daniel also said that it would be built" (3:15). This text suggests that Moses and Ezekiel saw the same temple. The future, eschatological temple depicted in Ezekiel 40–48 is the same temple that was shown to Moses as a pattern for the earthly tabernacle and first temple. By identifying the pattern of the temple that Moses saw with Ezekiel's vision of the future temple, *Lives of the Prophets* implies that a temple exists in heaven that is ready and waiting to descend to earth at the time of the eschaton and the messianic reign.[6] Similarly, in *2 Bar.* 4:2–7, God speaks about the new temple that will be found in the new Jerusalem:

> It is not this building that is in your midst now; it is that which will be revealed with me, that was already prepared from the moment that I decided to create Paradise. And I showed it to Adam before he sinned …. After these things I showed it to my servant Abraham in the night between the portions of the victims. And again I showed it also to Moses on Mount Sinai when I showed him the likeness of the tabernacle and all its vessels.

God explains that the eschatological temple is preserved in heaven and will eventually descend to earth, and this heavenly temple is the pattern after which the previous temples were fashioned (cf. *2 Bar.* 59:4).[7] Such a heavenly

5 D. R. A. Hare, "The Lives of the Prophets," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 2:380–81.

6 Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 128–29.

7 Hans Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum*, WUNT 2 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1951), 195; Frederick James Murphy, *The Structure and Meaning of Second Baruch*, SBLDS 78 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 85–87; Rivkah Nir, *The Destruction of Jerusalem and the Idea of Redemption in the* Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, SBLEJL 20 (Atlanta: SBL,

temple awaiting descent, however, is not populated and does not function until the time of the eschaton; therefore, it could not house a heavenly cult. For this reason, these texts also are not germane to our survey.

Our interest is in texts that describe a heavenly temple in which God dwells and angels function as priests by performing cultic activities. This notion of a heavenly cult may have developed by combining the idea of a heavenly pattern of the temple with the Old Testament texts that describe the divine dwelling in terms of a temple (Isa 6:1–8; 2 Sam 22:7; Pss 11:4; 18:6; 29:9; Mic 1:2; Hab 2:20).[8] Texts in this category of particular interest include *1 Enoch* 14, *Jubilees*, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and the *Testament of Levi* 3.

3.1 *1 Enoch 14*

First Enoch 14 (mid-third century BCE[9]) recounts Enoch's ascent to heaven and journey into the heavenly temple. To describe the heavenly temple, *1 Enoch* 14 employs allusions from Ezekiel 1, 40–44; Daniel 7; and Isaiah 6.[10] Enoch first enters a "great house" (οἶκον μέγαν;[11] v. 10) that "was hot like fire and cold like ice" and that was built of white marble with crystal floors (v. 13). The designation of the building as a *house* likely serves a dual purpose: (1) it identifies the place as the dwelling of God and (2) it subsequently identifies the building as a temple, since the term *house* (בַּיִת/οἶκος) is at times used in the Old Testament to refer to the main building of the temple (e. g., 1 Kgs 6:2; Ezek 40:47–48).[12] Enoch then sees a "second house which is greater than the former" and "in every respect excelled (the other)—in glory and great honor—to the extent that it is impossible for me to recount to you concerning its glory and greatness" (vv. 15–16).

2002), 20. Similarly, *4 Ezra* describes a New Jerusalem (no mention of a temple) in heaven awaiting descent (7:26; 8:52; 9:26–10:59; 13:36).

8 Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or I Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes*, SVTP 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 148.

9 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 7.

10 Black, *I Enoch*, 151–52; Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 10–11; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 254; Knibb, "Temple and Cult," 405.

11 Although the leading manuscripts of *1 Enoch* are Ethiopic, I am including Greek citations from the Gizeh manuscript of *1 Enoch* to demonstrate the closeness of the cultic language both to the LXX and to the following texts, most notably the *Testament of Levi*.

12 Mary Dean-Otting, *Heavenly Journeys: A Study of the Motif in Hellenistic Jewish Literature*, JU 8 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1984), 49; Black, *I Enoch*, 147; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 14; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 262; Knibb, "Temple and Cult," 405–6; cf. pp. 47–48 n. 99.

This "second house" is presumably the Holy of Holies,[13] and in it Enoch sees a lofty throne with "the Great Glory" sitting on it (v. 20). The throne room of God, according to the Old Testament (e. g., Ps 11:4) and Ancient Near Eastern assumptions, is also a temple.[14]

While *1 Enoch* 14 clearly presents a heavenly temple where God dwells, the presence of cultic activity is less explicit. Verses 21–23 describe the angels and their access to the presence of God. Initially, v. 21 states that "none of the angels was able to come in [παρελθεῖν] and see the face of the Excellent and the Glorious One"; however, v. 23 says that the holy ones (ἅγιοι) of the angels who were drawing near (οἱ ἐγγίζοντες) did not depart at night nor move away from him. Certain members of the angelic corps, therefore, have access to God, an exception to the comments in v. 21.[15] The identification of this particular angelic corps as priests who are involved in some sort of cultic activity may be implied by the word ἅγιοι and is more strongly connoted by the term of access ἐγγίζειν, which has cultic implications (Ezek 44:13–16; 45:4).[16] The cultic connotations inferred from the terms ἅγιοι and ἐγγίζοντες are supported by *1 Enoch* 15:2, where God proclaims that, rather than Enoch's interceding for the Watchers of heaven (who are angels), the Watchers ought to intercede on behalf of humans. The priestly role of intercession (Exod 28:29), therefore, is the task of angels, who ought to intercede for human beings. In these ways, *1 Enoch* presents the angels as priests who serve in the heavenly temple and who presumably perform cultic activities.[17]

The question then becomes, how do the heavenly temple and cult function in *1 Enoch?* Primarily, Enoch's ascent into the heavenly temple functions to legitimize his reception of revelation from God in chs. 15–16. The heavenly ascent verifies Enoch's message that rampant earthly evil is the result of evil angels and not the works of mere mortals.[18] The ascent to God, therefore, is what is cen-

13 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 263; similarly, Dean-Otting, *Heavenly Journeys*, 49; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 14; Rowland, "Second Temple," 191; Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 130; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 78.

14 Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 14; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 256. The identification of the divine dwelling as a temple is also suggested by a parallel usage of fire and ice language to describe the temple in Josephus, *J.W.* 5.222–23 (Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 15).

15 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 265.

16 Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 20; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 265.

17 David Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16," *HUCA* 50 (1979): 115–35; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 20–23; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 54–55, 271; Knibb, "Temple and Cult," 405–6.

18 Alan F. Segal, "Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity and Their Environment," *ANRW* 23.2:1359–60; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 254, 261; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 78, 81.

tral to *1 Enoch* 14, while the heavenly temple is simply the place where God dwells and the implicit heavenly cult is what occurs in the heavenly temple. Thus, the heavenly temple and the cult that takes place within it seem to function merely to establish the context for the heavenly ascent. Nothing in *1 Enoch* 14 suggests that the heavenly temple functions as an alternative to an inadequate earthly counterpart or that the description of the heavenly cult establishes a correspondence between the heavenly and earthly cults.[19] However, the concern elsewhere in *1 Enoch* over the 364-day calendar may imply the desire to synchronize the earthly cult with the heavenly cult, as evident in *Jubilees*.[20]

3.2 *Jubilees*

Jubilees (160 – 150 BCE[21]) is a counterpoint to *1 Enoch* 14. Whereas *1 Enoch* 14 depicts the heavenly temple and implies the existence of an angelic priesthood that performs cultic activities, *Jubilees* describes angelic rituals and assumes—while not mentioning—the existence of a heavenly temple. When describing angelic rituals, *Jubilees* highlights the angels' rites as prototypes that Israel must also perform, thereby calling for a correspondence between heavenly and earthly worship. This correspondence is made explicit when discussing three rites.

First, there is a correspondence between heaven and earth in observing the Sabbath. *Jubilees* records that, on the seventh day of creation, God commanded two classes of angels—the angels of the presence and all of the angels of sanctification—"to keep sabbath with him in heaven and on earth" (2:18).[22] Not only did God rest on the seventh day (as recorded in Genesis), but he also instituted a heavenly Sabbath observance to be kept by the angels. At that time, God said that he would "separate a people for myself from among the nations. They, too, will keep sabbath" (2:19). Thus, when Israel kept the Sabbath, they kept it along with the angels who observed the first Sabbath "in heaven before it was made known to all humanity that on it they should keep sabbath on earth" (2:30). The angelic Sabbath observance roots the Sabbath in the creation story and creation order, and that (angelic) creational framework becomes the foundation of *Jubilees*' Sabbath exhortations in 2:25 – 33 and 50:6 – 13.

19 Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 78.

20 For this possibility in *1 Enoch*, see David R. Jackson, *Enochic Judaism: Three Defining Paradigm Exemplars*, LSTS 49 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 139 – 211, esp. 164.

21 VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 17 – 21.

22 Translations of *Jubilees* from James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*, CSCO 510 – 11/Scriptores Aethiopici 87 – 88 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

In terms of the Sabbath, *Jubilees* implies but does not state explicitly that there is a heavenly cult. When the angel of the presence, who reveals the institution of the Sabbath to Moses, describes the Sabbath rituals that correspond between Israel and the heavenly observance, he states that, on the Sabbath, Israel is "to eat, drink, and bless the creator of all as he had blessed them and sanctified them for himself as a noteworthy people out of all the nations; and to keep sabbath together with [the angels]" (2:21). As a result, Israel's observance went up to God "as a fine fragrance which is acceptable in his presence for all times" (2:22). Thus, *Jubilees* suggests that the observance of the Sabbath in all its rituals corresponds between heaven and earth. Although *Jubilees* does not explicitly state that the earthly Sabbath sacrifices correspond to the heavenly ritual, it does describe the results of the corresponding observance in sacrificial terms—"a fine fragrance which is acceptable in his presence." Then, in the commands concerning the Sabbath in ch. 50, *Jubilees* states,

> For great is the honor which the Lord has given Israel to eat, drink, and be filled on this festal day; and to rest on it from any work that belongs to the work of mankind except to burn incense and to bring before the Lord offerings and sacrifices for the days and the Sabbaths. Only this (kind of) work is to be done on the sabbath days in the sanctuary of the Lord your God in order that they may atone continuously for Israel with offerings from day to day as a memorial that is acceptable before the Lord; and in order that he may receive them forever, day by day, as you were ordered. (50:10–11)

Sacrifices are required on earth on the Sabbath, and, since the Sabbath observance on earth is patterned after that in heaven, the heavenly observance may have also included sacrifice. In terms of the eating, drinking, and blessing God that are explicitly identified in 2:21 as corresponding between heaven and earth, sacrifice may be subsumed under blessing God (cf. 50:10). Further, blessing God in 2:21–22 results in a fine and acceptable fragrance, which may relate to the sacrifices that serve as a "memorial that is acceptable before the Lord" in 50:11. *Jubilees*' description of the Sabbath, therefore, implies a corresponding heavenly observance that included sacrifice in a heavenly sanctuary.[23] However, such a sanctuary and such sacrifices are never made explicit.

Second, there is a correspondence between heaven and earth in keeping the Feast of Weeks. *Jubilees* records that Noah and his family were the first humans to celebrate the Feast of Weeks. It served as a reminder of the covenant that was

23 Martha Himmelfarb, "The Book of Jubilees and Early Jewish Mysticism," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 391; cf. Suter, "Jubilees, Temple, and Priesthood," 402.

made between God and Noah after the flood. God would never again destroy the world in such a manner. However, Noah and his family were not the first to celebrate the Feast of Weeks. The Feast "has been ordained and written on the heavenly tablets" (6:17); therefore, it "had been celebrated in heaven from the time of creation until the lifetime of Noah" (6:18). The Feast of Weeks, just like the Sabbath, was part of the heavenly and created order, so the angels in heaven were the first to observe it. Noah was the first human to observe it, and, although Noah's sons corrupted the festival, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob kept the feast properly. Their children subsequently forgot the festival, so that it was not celebrated again until the time it was written in the law at Sinai (6:18–22). Like the Sabbath, sacrifice is included in the earthly Feast of Weeks (6:22; cf. 6:1–3), which, due to the correspondence to the heavenly Feast of Weeks, suggests a heavenly cult.[24]

Third, there is a correspondence between heaven and earth in circumcision. Circumcision, like the Feast of Weeks, "is an eternal ordinance ordained and written on the heavenly tablets" (15:25), and, therefore, "all of the angels of the presence and all of the angels of holiness [were circumcised] from the day of their creation" (15:27). Israel, then, was chosen to imitate the angels in their circumcision so that they might "be with [God] and his holy angels" (15:27).

In terms of the Sabbath, Feast of Weeks, and circumcision, certain rituals are validated by their foundation in the created order (i. e., being written in the heavenly tablets) and in their consequent observance by the angels in heaven. Israel, then, is elected to participate in the created, heavenly order. Other liturgical rituals are also written in the heavenly tablets, and, therefore, one could assume that these rituals also took place in heaven (16:28–31; 18:19; 32:10–15). For instance, *Jubilees* roots the solar calendar in the created and heavenly order, in order to argue that following the solar calendar synchronizes earthly worship with heavenly worship.[25] What is most important to note, then, is not only that the heavenly practice of the rituals validated the earthly practice, but also that *Jubilees* assumes a high level of liturgical correspondence between heaven

24 Himmelfarb, "Jubilees and Jewish Mysticism," 391; Jared Calaway, *The Sabbath and the Sanctuary: Access to God in the Letter to the Hebrews and Its Priestly Context*, WUNT 2/349 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 173.

25 Jackson, *Enochic Judaism*, 164; Henry W. Morisada Rietz, "Synchronizing Worship: Jubilees as a Tradition for the Qumran Community," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 111–18.

and earth—a correspondence that assumes a parallel sanctuary, cult, and priesthood.[26]

A correspondence between heavenly and earthly priesthoods is the one element of these three that is made explicit in *Jubilees*. Whereas the Sabbath, Feast of Weeks, and circumcision establish a parallel between the angels and *all* of Israel,[27] *Jubilees* also draws a correspondence between the angels and the *Levites* alone. The angel of the presence states that "Levi's descendants were chosen for the priesthood and as levites to serve before the Lord as we (do) for all time" (30:18). Then, when Jacob blesses Levi in 31:11–17, Jacob says, "May he make you and your descendants (alone) out of all humanity approach [God] to serve in his temple like the angels of the presence and like the holy ones. The descendants of your sons will be like them in honor, greatness, and holiness" (31:14). Thus, the Levites correspond to the angels of the presence in terms of their service in the sanctuary.[28] This correspondence affirms the implied existence of a heavenly sanctuary with a heavenly cult administered by the angels of the presence.

Jubilees, therefore, describes a correspondence between the heavenly and earthly rituals—with the implied correspondence between the heavenly and earthly cult—in order "to valorize the rituals of the earthly temple."[29] The heavenly cult is the prototypical cult that was established at creation and is, therefore, rooted in the cosmic order. As a result, the elect Jewish people ought to imitate the heavenly rituals and, in so doing, synchronize their worship with the heavenly worship and with the cosmic order recorded in the heavenly tablets.

26 Hayward, *Jewish Temple*, 87–88; Rachel Elior, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism*, LLJC (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), 135–52, esp. 137; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 39–43; Himmelfarb, "Jubilees and Jewish Mysticism," 390–94.

27 For this element, see esp. Martha Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism*, JCC (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 53–84.

28 Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 42–43; Annette Yoshiko Reed, "Enochic and Mosaic Traditions in Jubilees: The Evidence of Angelology and Demonology," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 356.

29 Himmelfarb, "Jubilees and Jewish Mysticism," 394.

3.3 *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*

The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (henceforth, *ShirShabb*) is a liturgical work. The earliest extant manuscripts date from the first century BCE;[30] however, the *ShirShabb* may have been written earlier.[31] Most extant manuscripts of this work come from Qumran; however, one manuscript was also found at Masada, which has raised the question of whether *ShirShabb* is a sectarian document. While scholars debate this issue in terms of original authorship, there is no debate that it is sectarian in terms of its use in the Qumran Community. The *ShirShabb* was a significant document at Qumran that formed the Community's self-understanding.[32] In this sense, we will proceed by examining the *ShirShabb* as a sectarian document of the Qumran Community.

The *ShirShabb* consists of thirteen songs written for the first thirteen Sabbaths of the liturgical calendar. Each song has a formulaic introduction, including three components: (1) "for the instructor" (למשכיל); (2) "song of the whole-offering of the Sabbath" (שיר עולת השבת) followed by the number Sabbath for which the song was written; and (3) the command "praise" (הללו) directed toward the angels in heaven.

The thirteen *ShirShabb* form a clear structure in the composition. Carol Newsom has argued convincingly that these thirteen songs have a pyramidal structure consisting of three sections (1–5, 6–8, 9–13) that reach their apex in the seventh song.[33] This pyramidal structure is also supplemented by a chiastic connection between the first two and last two songs, so the first *ShirShabb* corresponds to the thirteenth and the second to the twelfth.[34] Since the material

30 J. Strugnell, "The Angelic Liturgy at Qumrân—4Q Serek Šîrôt 'Ôlat Haššabbāt," in *Congress Volume: Oxford 1959*, VTSup 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1960), 319; Carol A. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*, HSS 27 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 1.

31 Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 60.

32 Strugnell, "Angelic Liturgy," 318; Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, 1–4; Carol A. Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and its Interpreters*, BJSUC 1 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–87; cf. Johann Maier, "Shîrê 'Ôlat hash-Shabbat: Some Observations on their Calendric Implications," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner, STDJ 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:559–60; Joseph L. Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 85–87.

33 Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, 16–17; Carol A. Newsom, "'He Has Established for Himself Priests': Human and Angelic Priesthood in the Qumran Sabbath *Shirot*," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, JSPSup 8 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1990), 102–3.

34 Anna Maria Schwemer, "Gott als König und seine Königsherrschaft in den Sabbatliedern aus Qumran," in *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult: Im Judentum, Urchristentum und in*

most pertinent to this work is found in the first, second, twelfth, and thirteenth *ShirShabb*, the following examination will focus on those songs and follow the chiastic correspondences by discussing the first and thirteenth songs together, then the second and twelfth, and finally songs three through eleven.

3.3.1 First and Thirteenth *ShirShabb*

The first *ShirShabb* [35] describes the investiture of the angelic priesthood.[36] The song states that "[God] established for Himself priests [כוהני] of the inner sanctum, the holiest of the holy ones [קורב קדושי קדושים]" (4Q400 1 I, 19; cf. 1 I, 10). The angels are "ministers [משרתי] of the Presence in his glorious shrine [פנים בדביר צבודו]" (I, 4) and "pries[ts of] the inner sanctum who serve before the King" (I, 8).[37] These priests must obey and carry out all God's ordinances, precepts, and regulations that he wrote down for them (I, 5–15). Because the heavenly cult is the ideal cult, the angelic priests must be holy and perform the regulations precisely. There is no tolerance for any perversion or impurity (I, 14). The heavenly ordinances likely correspond to the earthly ordinances in the Torah, so the angelic priesthood executes the same cultic worship as prescribed for the earthly priesthood. This conclusion is supported by the timing of the first *ShirShabb*. Since it was intended to be read on the first Sabbath of the year, the heavenly investiture of the angelic priesthood corresponds to the liturgical

der hellenistischen Welt, ed. Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer, WUNT 55 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 112, 116; similarly Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 60, 68.

35 For the assignment of fragments to the thirteen *ShirShabb*, see Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, 7–12; Philip S. Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, CQS 7 (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 13–44. The first *ShirShabb* consists primarily of 4Q400 1.

36 See the extremely fragmentary 4Q401 22 I, 2, which includes the technical phrase "to fill the hands" (מלו ידיהם). Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis contends that the priests in the first *ShirShabb* are not angels but human priests from the Qumran Community, who are "in their transformed, heavenly, mode" (*All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 42 [Leiden: Brill, 2002], 256, cf. 281–93). This contention is part of Fletcher-Louis's broader argument that the *ShirShabb* is not exclusively about angels. Rather, many of the actors are actually angelomorphic humans. Many of Fletcher-Louis's arguments for this view regard terms used for the actors (usually presumed to be superhuman angels) that are normally ascribed to humans (in the DSS and other Second Temple literature) (ibid., 280–394, esp. 293–301). However, the use of terms frequently used in the DSS to refer to the Community may not be intended to identify the actors as angelomorphic humans but to demonstrate how the Community corresponds to the heavenly, angelic worshipping community.

37 Cf. 1QSb IV 24–26.

calendar of the Qumran Community, because the Community had set aside the first week of the year for the consecration of its own priesthood.[38]

During the angelic investiture, the angelic priesthood is given the task of כפר.[39] The angels are sanctified (קדש) and purified (טהר) so that they may "propitiate His good will [ויכפרו רצונו] for all who repent of sin [בעד כול שבי פשע]" (I, 15–16). This passage is the one extant text in Qumran literature in which God (or his will) is the object of כפר, thus resulting in the translation of כפר as "propitiate." The identity of those who receive the benefits of כפר has been debated. Georg Gäbel argues that שבי פשע ("those who repent from sin") are angels who have sinned by allowing their way to be perverted (I, 14).[40] While the *ShirShabb* is concerned with the purity of the angelic priesthood, the identity of angels in the DSS as either sons of light or sons of darkness appears determined. There is no evidence that fallen angels could be restored to the community through כפר. More importantly, שבי פשע is used almost as a technical title in the sectarian literature for the earthly, sectarian community (esp. CD II, 5; 1QH[a] VI, 24; X, 9; XIV, 6; also 1QS X, 20), and it almost certainly has the same meaning in *ShirShabb*.[41] Thus, the angelic priesthood achieves atonement or propitiation of God's will *for human beings* as a response to their sin (פשע).

The thirteenth *ShirShabb* is the only place in all the *ShirShabb* where sacrifices are explicitly mentioned. In the first *ShirShabb*, the sacrificial practice of the angelic priesthood is assumed, because the angels obey all the cultic regulations and make atonement.[42] However, the first *ShirShabb* and all subsequent *ShirShabb* until the thirteenth do not explicitly mention heavenly sacrifices. Although fragmentary, 11Q17 21–22 IX, 3–5 refers to the "sacrifices of the holy ones" (זבחי קדושים), the "aroma of their offerings" (ריח מנחותם), and the

38 Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, 72; idem., "He Has Established," 115; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 65.

39 Fletcher-Louis thinks that human priests are those who make atonement for the Qumran Community. He objects to the idea that angels could purify or sanctify themselves or that they could atone for human beings because he does not find prior texts describing angels in such a manner (*Glory of Adam*, 289–92). However, once one conceives of angels as priests (as in earlier Jewish texts), the logical inference is that the angelic priests can accomplish the functions of priests: purification, sanctification, and atonement.

40 Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 66. Gäbel bases his argument on the concern in 4Q400 1 and 4Q403 1 I, 1–29 with the purity of the angels in the priesthood.

41 Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, 42; Maxwell J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1–36, 72–108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran*, JSPSup 11 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), 241; James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, ECDSS (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 103; Fletcher-Louis, *Glory of Adam*, 290.

42 Peter Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 140–41.

"aroma of their libations" (ריח נסכיהם). Some scholars argue that these offerings are "wholly spiritual and consist of praises and blessings."[43] However, זבח, מנחה, and נסך always refer to material offerings in Qumran literature,[44] and, in keeping with the rest of its uses in the DSS,[45] זבח likely refers generally to any kind of bloody, animal sacrifice that was typically accompanied by grain offerings (מנחה) and drink offerings (נסך).[46] Further, as noted in the first (and twelfth) *ShirShabb*, the angels performed the duties—including presumably sacrifice—in perfect obedience to the regulations of God, which correspond to the regulations given to Israel in the Torah. For this reason, one would expect the angelic sacrifices to follow the same regulations as the earthly sacrifice, thereby including the bloody sacrifice of animals.[47] Thus, since זבח, מנחה, and נסך are not identified

43 Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, 42; cf. Hermut Löhr, "Thronversammlung und preisender Tempel: Beobachtungen am himmlischen Heiligtum im Hebräerbrief und in den Sabbatopferliedern aus Qumran," in *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult: Im Judentum, Urchristentum und in der hellenistischen Welt*, ed. Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer, WUNT 55 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 194. Alexander argues that these sacrifices are "wholly spiritual," because he interprets this text in light of 4Q405 23 II, 12: "In the chiefs of praise-offering [תרומות] are tongues of knowledge." However, the explanation of the term תרומה in 4Q405 ought not to determine the interpretation of זבח, מנחה, and נסך in 11Q17. Further, that the angels made an "offering of the tongue" or that their praise is described as "the choicest spiritual portion" (4Q403 1 I, 40) does not determine that all their offerings were non-material, thereby precluding a physical sacrifice (contra Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, 58). Lohr raises the question of whether the absence in the *ShirShabb* of the altar of burnt offerings suggests the "Spiritualisierung des Opfers in der Sabbatliturgie" ("Thronversammlung," 194). However, due to the fragmentary character of the *ShirShabb*, it is especially dubious to make an argument from silence.

44 Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 136 n. 48; Fletcher-Louis, *Glory of Adam*, 361. For מנחה, see 4Q504 1–2 IV, 10; 11QT[a]. For נסך, see 11QT[a].

45 For זבח used generally for animal sacrifice, see CD XI, 10; 1QS IX, 4; 1QM II, 5; 4Q264 I, 3; 4Q269 8 II, 1; 4Q277 1 I, 2, 5; 4Q421 XIII, 1. For זבח + חטא to denote sin offering, see 4QMMT[a] 3–7 I, 8–12. For זבח + שלמים to denote the fellowship offering, see 11QT[a] XXXVII; L, 15; LXIII, 15.

46 For מִנְחָה and נֶסֶךְ added to animal sacrifice, see Exod 29:31; Lev 23:13, 18, 37; Num 6:13–17; 28–29.

47 For this conclusion, see Falk, *Prayers in DSS*, esp. 136 n. 48. Fletcher-Louis concludes that the sacrifices are most likely "the actual, physical, sacrifices of the Sabbath service" offered at Qumran by the Community (*Glory of Adam*, 361). This view is the result of his broader argument that the actors in the *ShirShabb* are primarily (angelomorphic) human worshippers and that the *ShirShabb* describes human worship in heavenly terms. The difficulty with this view is that it would require the Qumran Community to actually offer sacrifices, which is a conclusion that is not supported by archaeological or literary evidence. Further, the second *ShirShabb* establishes a distinction between the angelic priesthood/heavenly worship and the human priest-

as bloodless or spiritual, these ought to be understood in their plainest sense as bloody animal and material sacrifices. The thirteenth *ShirShabb*, therefore, appears to describe animal sacrifice in the heavenly sanctuary.

By reading the first and thirteenth *ShirShabb* together, certain conclusions can be drawn that are otherwise somewhat uncertain. The first *ShirShabb* alludes to the angels' priestly service and to their duty to כפר God for those who have sinned. While one might assume, based on Leviticus, that the angels' priestly service included sacrifice and that כפר was achieved through sacrifice, it is never made explicit. If, however, the thirteenth *ShirShabb* is the chiastic counterpoint to the first *ShirShabb*, then the connections between כפר, the angelic priesthood, and sacrifice are corroborated.[48]

3.3.2 Second and Twelfth *ShirShabb*

The second *ShirShabb* begins with a lofty description of angelic worship and then focuses on a comparison between human and angelic praise. 4Q400 2 I, 6–8 contains this unfortunately fragmentary comparison: "How shall we be considered [among] them? And how shall our priesthood (be considered) in their dwellings? ... [What] is the offering of our tongues of dust (compared) with the knowledge of the g[ods?]" The function of this text will be discussed below. For now, it is important to note the description of human praise as "the offering of our tongues of dust" (תרומת לשון עפרנו). This passage is one of only two instances outside the thirteenth *ShirShabb* in which the *ShirShabb* employs sacrificial terminology. The other instance is a description of angelic praise in the eighth *ShirShabb* as "the offering of their tongues" (תרומת לשוניהם; 4Q403 1 ii 26; cf. 4Q405 23 ii 12). Thus, there appears to be some kind of correspondence between the angelic "offering of the tongue" and the lesser, human "offering of the tongue of dust." This designation also resonates with the similar phrase "offering of lips" (תרומת שפתים) in 1QS IX, 4–5, by which the Community atoned for transgressions (cf. 4Q400 1 I, 16).

The twelfth *ShirShabb*, in the midst of its portrayal of angelic praise, includes a description of the angels' obedient service: "There is none among them who omits a law; and never against the commands of the King do they set themselves. They do not run from the way or tarry away from His territory.

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hood/earthly worship, which suggests that the *ShirShabb* speak to and about angelic priests and not about angelomorphic, human priests.

48 Similarly Calaway, *Sabbath and Sanctuary*, 173–75.

They are not too exalted for His missions; nor are [they] too lowly" (4Q405 23 i 10 – 12). When the twelfth *ShirShabb* is viewed as a chiastic counterpoint to the second *ShirShabb*, where the insufficiency of human praise is described, the obedience of the angelic priesthood can be seen as a critique of earthly worship. Not only is the Community limited in their ability to worship fully after the pattern of the angels, but the worship in Jerusalem was plagued by a failure to follow all of the rules and regulations as the angels did in the ideal, heavenly cult.[49]

3.3.3 Third through Eleventh *ShirShabb*

As it concerns the present investigation of sacrifice, the most notable aspect of the third through eleventh *ShirShabb* is the absence of sacrificial terminology and references. As noted above, the sole occurrence of sacrificial terminology in songs three to eleven appears in the eighth *ShirShabb*, where the angelic praise is described as an "offering of the tongue." Beyond a single instance of sacrificial terminology, these *ShirShabb* contain descriptions of the angelic praise and of the praise offered by the heavenly tabernacle. However, the actual words of praise are never recorded.

3.3.4 Function of the *ShirShabb*

The function of the *ShirShabb* in the Qumran Community has been hotly debated, and the debate centers on the *degree* of correspondence that the *ShirShabb* establishes between human and angelic worshipers and the *role* this correspondence plays in the community.[50]

49 Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 67 – 68.

50 Other texts in the Qumran literature mention a correspondence between the Community and the angels. In 1QSb III, 25 – 27, IV, 24 – 26, the union between humans and angels is related to the temple and priesthood, and it is an anticipated, eschatological blessing. In 1QS XI, 7 – 9, 1QSa II, 8 – 9, and 1QH^{a} XIV, 12 – 13, the Community is united to the angels in the present. The correspondence to angels in *ShirShabb* is being addressed independently from these other texts, because union with humans takes many forms at Qumran, and "sollte man nicht von *einer* Vorstellung der Gemeinschaft mit den Engeln sprechen" (Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran mit einem Anhang über Eschatologie und Gegenwart in der Verkündigung Jesu*, SUNT 4 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966], 70).

In terms of the *degree* of correspondence, two options exist.[51] On the one hand, the experience created by reading the *ShirShabb* may have resulted in a *co-participation* or *mystical union*. By reciting the events of the heavenly liturgy, the Community was united with the angels in the heavenly realm, in order to participate in the heavenly liturgy and sacrifice.[52] On the other hand, the *Shir-Shabb*, by means of their vivid language and descriptions of heavenly worship, may have resulted in a *virtual experience*—"the experience of being present in the heavenly temple and in the presence of the angelic priests who serve there."[53] In such a manner, the Qumran Community did not participate in, but merely witnessed, the heavenly liturgy (and then imitated it).[54]

Central to discussions of the degree of correspondence between the human and angelic community is the fragmentary text cited above from the second *Shir-Shabb* (4Q400 2 I, 6–7): "How shall we be considered [among] them? And how shall our priesthood (be considered) in their dwellings? ... [What] is the offering of our tongues of dust (compared) with the knowledge of the g[ods?]" Some scholars view this passage as irrefutable proof that human worship, due to its inadequacies, could not unite with angelic worship in the heavenly realm.[55] However, such liturgical self-deprecation cannot be viewed as an objective evaluation of the inability of human worship to join in the heavenly worship. In Isaiah 6, for instance, Isaiah's entrance into the heavenly sanctuary led to his own proclamation of being unqualified to be in the heavenly realm due to his

51 Cf. Angel, *Otherworldly Priesthood*, 97–106.

52 Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, 101–20. Similarly, A. S. van der Woude, "Fragmente einer Rolle der Lieder für das Sabbatopfer aus Höhle XI von Qumran (11Q ŠirŠabb)," in *Von Kanaan bis Kerala*, ed. W. C. Delsman et al., AOAT 211 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1982), 332; Otfried Hofius, "Gemeinschaft mit den Engeln im Gottesdienst der Kirche: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Skizze," *ZTK* 89 (1992): 184–85; Johann Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis: Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der "jüdischen Gnosis,"* KRS 1 (Salzburg: Müller, 1964), 133; Björn Frennesson, *"In a Common Rejoicing": Liturgical Communion with Angels in Qumran*, AUUSSU 14 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 1999), 98; H. Gzella, "Beobachtungen zur Angelologie der Sabbatopferlieder im Spiegel ihrer theologiegeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen," *ETL* 78 (2002): 477–78; cf. Christopher Morray-Jones, "The Temple Within: The Embodied Divine Image and its Worship in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish and Christian Sources," in *SBLSP* 37 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 1:400–431.

53 Newsom, "He Has Established," 115; similarly Strugnell, "Angelic Liturgy," 320; Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, 17, 59, 65; Kugler, "Rewriting Rubrics," 91–92; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 62–64.

54 Kugler, "Rewriting Rubrics," 92; cf. Schäfer, *Jewish Mysticism*, 141–46.

55 Newsom, "He Has Established," 117; Kugler, "Rewriting Rubrics," 92; Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 109; Esther G. Chazon, "Human and Angelic Prayer in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 41–42; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 62–64.

unclean lips. Thus, while the members of the Community viewed themselves as unworthy of entering the heavenly sanctuary and joining the heavenly liturgy, their self-diminishing statements may just as easily suggest that they have, in fact, entered the heavenly sanctuary and are responding to their inadequacies.[56]

For our purposes it is not necessary to determine which of these two—*co-participation* or *virtual experience*—is correct. What is more important is to determine the *role* the correspondence between angelic and Qumran communities plays, and the correspondence likely served two functions or roles.

First, the correspondence between the angels and Qumran Community in *ShirShabb* likely created "an experiential validation" of the Community's priesthood.[57] The priests in the Qumran Community viewed themselves as the true and faithful priesthood in contrast to the impure priesthood of Jerusalem. However, the impure priesthood controlled the temple, and, therefore, the Qumran priesthood lacked all physical evidence of an identification as the right(eous) priesthood—i. e., "they did not have authority in the Jerusalem temple; they could not conduct its sacrificial service; they possessed neither the sacred vestments nor utensils."[58] The *ShirShabb*, however, functioned to legitimize the Community's priesthood, because it synchronized their earthly investiture with the heavenly. As noted above, the first *ShirShabb*, to be read on the first Sabbath of the year, includes a description of the heavenly, priestly investiture of angels, and the first Sabbath of the year corresponds, according to the regulations of the *Temple Scroll*, with the consecration of the Community's priesthood.

Thus, if the *ShirShabb* established a mystical union, then the consecration of the Community's priesthood took place as part of the heavenly consecration, thereby legitimizing the Community's priesthood.[59] If, on the other hand, the *ShirShabb* simply involved a virtual experience through which the Community observed the angelic consecration, then the Community's consecration of their priesthood was validated because it imitated the heavenly consecration. By following the prescriptions of the heavenly cult, the earthly cult is validated. Unlike

56 Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration and Christology: A Study in Early Judaism and in the Christology of the Apocalypse of John*, WUNT 2/70 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 159 – 60; Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 136. While this passage can still allow for the mystical ascent of the earthly worshippers into the realm of the heavenly worship, it does suggest that the author speaks of an angelic priesthood distinct from the human priesthood and not of angelomorphic, human priests (contra Fletcher-Louis, *Glory of Adam*, 252 – 394).

57 Newsom, "He Has Established," 115 – 16; also Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, 71 – 72; Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 236 – 37; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 64 – 69.

58 Newsom, "He Has Established," 115.

59 Schwemer, "Gott als König," 117.

the Jerusalem priesthood, the Qumran priesthood paralleled that of the ideal priesthood of the angels in heaven. Further, even the experience of being permitted to witness the heavenly consecration may have helped validate the Qumran priests.[60]

Second, the correspondence between the angels and the Qumran Community also addressed the problem of proper worship, including the acts of cultic worship. The Qumran community clearly viewed the contemporary worship in Jerusalem as inadequate, as exhibited by calendrical debates and tensions with the Jerusalem temple. However, withdrawing from the temple created other difficulties for establishing proper worship. The heavenly worship and heavenly cult offered a solution to these problems, because they represent the ideal worship and cult.

How the Qumran Community relates to the ideal worship differs slightly depending on whether the correspondence between the Community and angels is a mystical union or a virtual experience. If the *ShirShabb* established a mystical union or co-participation, then the heavenly cult may have become a substitute for the earthly cult. Since the Qumran Community did not participate in the Jerusalem cult and worship, they needed some manner by which they could still be obedient to the mandated-by-the-Torah cultic worship. The participation in the heavenly, cultic worship, then, may have become a functional substitute, by means of which the Community maintained the cultic order and cultic mandates, even while they were separated from the earthly sacrificial cult in Jerusalem.[61] Further, participation with the angels in the ideal, heavenly cult would have validated the Qumran worship as *the* proper worship. The Jerusalem cult no longer was in communion with the angels in their ritual practices, but the Qumran Community was.[62] In addition, Anna Maria Schwemer suggests that the maintenance of the cultic order through participation in the heavenly cult may have been a way that the Community's eschatological future was actualized in the present. The Community anticipated the time when they would control the temple and perform the cult properly. Since what is expected on earth in the future is eternally present in heaven, the Community can already experience its eschatological expectations by participating with the angels in the heavenly worship and cult.[63]

60 Newsom, "He Has Established," 115 – 16.

61 Woude, "Sabbatopfer," 332; Maier, "Shîrê 'Ôlat hash-Shabbat," 553; cf. Schäfer, *Jewish Mysticism*, 141 – 46.

62 Maier, "Shîrê 'Ôlat hash-Shabbat," 560.

63 Schwemer, "Gott als König," 116 – 17.

If, on the other hand, the *ShirShabb* established a virtual experience, then the heavenly cult does not solve the problem of inadequate worship but does relieve some of its difficulties. In depicting a heavenly priesthood and cult, the *ShirShabb*, by means of the religious imagination, "constructs a realm where adequate cult is maintained."[64] While the Community is not able to participate fully in this ideal cult, the virtual experience of being present in the heavenly temple "mutes the religious anxiety associated with the inadequacy of human worship."[65] Further, when the members of the Community imitate the heavenly worship, they bring themselves as close as possible to the pattern of the ideal worship and, in so doing, validate their worship.[66]

It is difficult to determine which of these interpretations related to worship and cult is more likely. Carol A. Newsom has offered a number of arguments against the idea that the *ShirShabb* could provisionally replace the earthly sacrifice. (1) She notes that the *ShirShabb* only mention sacrifice on one occasion, which she finds unsuitable for a liturgy that replaces sacrifice. (2) She suggests that "essentially independent and equivalent compositions" would be the most conducive to replacing the earthly, sacrificial cult; in contrast, *ShirShabb* consists of thirteen interrelated songs that form a holistic structure. (3) She argues that songs for thirteen Sabbaths could not replace sacrifice, because it would only have provided a replacement for one-quarter of the year.[67] However, in response to these three arguments, (1) neither a mention of sacrifice nor (2) an independent composition is necessary for a liturgy to create a mystical union in worship that would fill the void created by absence from the Jerusalem temple, and (3) other liturgical works could have functioned to establish the co-participation the remaining three-fourths of the year.[68] Thus, although Newsom levies valid

64 Newsom, "He Has Established," 117. Similarly, Kugler, "Rewriting Rubrics," 91–92.

65 Newsom, "He Has Established," 117.

66 Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 237; James R. Davila, "The Macrocosmic Temple, Scriptural Exegesis, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *DSD* 9 (2002): 19; cf. Kugler, "Rewriting Rubrics," 92; Chazon, "Human and Angelic Prayer," 39–43.

67 Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, 18–19, 59; cf. Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, STDJ 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 293–96.

68 While it is speculative to suggest that other liturgical texts functioned to establish co-participation, it is also speculative to suggest that only the *ShirShabb* could function in this way for the Community. In both proposals, the *ShirShabb* address needs created by the Community's absence from the functioning cult in Jerusalem. It seems possible (if not probable) that the Community would address these liturgical, theological, and existential needs during the remaining weeks of the year. While there are not texts that equal the *ShirShabb* in their ability to connect worshippers to the heavenly realm, other texts exist that could function in this way (1QH^{a} XI, 21–23; XIV, 12–13; XIX, 10–14; 4Q511[4QShir^{b}] XXXV, 3–4), and we must entertain the pos-

critiques of the co-participation understanding, the critique is inconclusive. Further, numerous Qumran texts speak of a communion between angels and the members of the Community.[69] Thus, there are arguments for both positions, and no solid conclusions can be made between these two options.

Rather than deciding between co-participation and virtual experience in terms of their impact on the Community's self-understanding of (cultic) worship, it is more profitable to focus on what these two understandings hold in common.[70] First, the heavenly priesthood and cultic worship represent the ideal priesthood and worship. Second, the angelic priesthood achieves the sal-

sibility that other liturgical texts existed that connected the worshippers to the heavenly realm that have not (yet) been recovered or are too fragmentary to discern. Ultimately, I am not arguing that the Community *did* use other liturgical texts to establish co-participation; rather, I am simply noting that the limited information that we have can lead to nothing but informed speculation as opposed to any determinative answers.

69 Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, esp. 318–19. For communion between the angels and the Community in the present, see CD XV, 17; 1QS XI, 7–8; 1QH^{a} XI, 21–23; XIV, 12–13; XIX, 10–14; 4Q511(4QShir^{b}) XXXV, 3–4; for in the future, see 1QSa II, 8–9; 1QSb III, 22–28; IV, 24–26; 1QM VII, 6; 11Q14(11QBer) 12–13.

70 These conclusions are based on a cosmological understanding of the *ShirShabb* shared by almost all scholars. Fletcher-Louis, however, rejects a "dualistic cosmology" that presumes a heavenly tabernacle and priesthood that parallels or corresponds to an earthly tabernacle and priesthood (*Glory of Adam*, 255, 267–73, 359). In contrast, he argues that the "place where all this liturgy and a communion between angels and men takes place will then be the human community's own, concrete, earthly cultic space" (ibid., 274). The heavenly, angelic descriptions are simply the earthly, cultic realm described in heavenly terms (ibid., 275). As a result of this understanding, Fletcher-Louis must conceive of a manner by which the Qumran Community established a functioning, earthly sanctuary. He suggests that "they could very well have set up a form of tabernacle or temple with real vestibules, doors, gates, pillars and their works" or that, like the staging in a theatre, "one week the staging is set for a liturgy of the vestibule, the next week for the *paroket*, and so on" (ibid., 393). Thus, while Fletcher-Louis raises significant questions about the presumed dualistic cosmology of the *ShirShabb*, his proposed cosmology creates the arduous need for the Community to have a pseudo-functioning tabernacle, a notion that is not supported by literary or archaeological evidence. It seems much simpler and in keeping with apocalyptic cosmologies if the *ShirShabb* conceives of a heavenly sanctuary that corresponds to but is distinct from the earthly sanctuary. Interestingly, Fletcher-Louis also contends that the *ShirShabb* created a means by which the human Community is taken up into the divine life of God and angels. The *ShirShabb* accomplished a corporate ascent into the heavenly realm (ibid., 275–76). What is unclear to this author is where the human Community ascends to if there is no heavenly sanctuary and how the Community could worship and sacrifice, having left the earthly tabernacle with no heavenly sanctuary to worship or sacrifice in.

vific goods attributed to sacrifice in the Torah (כפר).[71] Third, the angelic priesthood is the counterpoint to the Community's priesthood.[72] Fourth, the angelic rituals provide the conceptual pattern the Community ought to follow.[73] Fifth, by imitating the heavenly rituals to the extent that is humanly possible, the Community legitimizes its worship—even while it is not in control of the Jerusalem temple—and receives the (salvific) goods corresponding to its acts of worship. Sixth, the *ShirShabb* blurs the boundaries between the heavenly and the earthly.

3.4 *Testament of Levi*

Testament of Levi 3:1–8 offers another significant example of a heavenly cult. This text is part of Levi's ascension into heaven (2:6–5:7). Levi ascends quickly through the first three heavens (2:7–8), and, when he marvels at these heavens, the angel guiding his ascension tells him, "Do not marvel at these, for you will see four other heavens, more brilliant and incomparable, when you ascend there" (2:9).[74] The angel proceeds to tell Levi that, when he ascends to those highest heavens, he "will stand near [ἐγγύς] the Lord and will be his minister [λειτουργός] and will declare his mysteries to men and will proclaim concerning him who will redeem Israel" (2:10). The angel continues to speak in ch. 3, where he describes the seven heavens, beginning with the first three heavens in chronological order (vv. 2–3) and then moving in reverse order from the highest (seventh) heaven down to the fourth heaven. In the highest heaven, "the Great Glory" (i.e., God) dwells "in the Holy of Holies [ἐν ἁγίῳ ἁγίων]" (v. 4). In the sixth heaven, "there are the angels of the presence of the Lord [οἱ ἄγγελοί τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου], those who minister [οἱ λειτουργοῦντες] and make propitiation [ἐξιλασκόμενοι] to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance [ἐπὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἀγνοίαις] of the righteous, and they offer to the Lord a pleasing odour, a reasonable and bloodless offering [λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον προσφοράν]" (vv. 5–6). In the fifth heaven are "the angels who bear the answers to the angels of the pres-

71 Alexander argues that "it is the heavenly offerings that are ultimately efficacious" (*Mystical Texts*, 42; similarly 20).

72 See 1QSb III, 22–28; IV, 24–26; 4Q511 XXXV, 3–4.

73 Strugnell, "Angelic Liturgy," 320; Elior, *Three Temples*, 189; Angel, *Otherworldly Priesthood*, 97–106. Alexander contends that "both the angels in heaven and Israel on earth are bound by the same Torah, the Torah inscribed on the heavenly tablets" (*Mystical Texts*, 16; see 4Q400 1 I, 5, 15).

74 Translations of the *Testament of Levi* are from Harm W. Hollander and Marinus de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary*, SVTP 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1985).

ence of the Lord" (v. 7), and in the fourth heaven "are thrones, authorities, in which always praises are offered to God" (v. 8).

The description of the heavenly cult in *T. Levi* 3:4–6 appears to stand in continuity with the Jewish traditions highlighted in the texts discussed above. (1) The highest heaven where God dwells is clearly depicted in terms of the temple, since it is called "the Holy of Holies" (v. 4). (2) The angels of the presence serve as priests, which is suggested by their titles as angels *of the presence* and confirmed by the two functions given to them. They are "those who minister" (οἱ λειτουργοῦντες), and the verb λειτουργεῖν has a cultic meaning in the *Testament of Levi* (see 2:10; 4:2) as well as in the LXX (e.g., Exod 28–39; Sir 45:15–16). The angels are also "those who propitiate" (ἐξιλασκόμενοι), and ἐξιλάσκεσθαι is the central salvific good ascribed to sacrifice in the LXX. Thus, λειτουργοῦντες and ἐξιλασκόμενοι clearly identify the angels of the presence as priests. (3) The angelic priests offer sacrifices (v. 6, προσφοράν) that create a pleasing odor before God. (4) The offerings that the angels dedicate are presumably the means by which the angels propitiate God on behalf of humans.[75] The account of the heavenly cult in *T. Levi* 3:4–6 also includes two details not found in the previous Jewish traditions on the heavenly cult. (1) The sins that are propitiated in the heavenly cult are identified as sins of ignorance (ἀγνοίας) as opposed, presumably, to intentional or high-handed sins. (2) The sacrifices that are a pleasing odor before God are "reasonable" (λογικήν) and "bloodless" (ἀναίμακτον).

The clear explication of the heavenly cult and the development of the tradition with new details make the *Testament of Levi* 3 an intriguing and significant text for the present investigation; however, our use of this text is complicated by a number of historical questions concerning its origin, composition, and transmission. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (henceforth, *Testaments*) is most likely a Jewish document, but the complete extant texts of this work were transmitted by early and medieval Christianity and in their present form clearly indicate some Christian influence.[76] As a result, scholars have tried to determine through redactional and literary means how the limited "Christian" material relates to the predominantly "Jewish" material. While many theories have been proposed, Robert A. Kugler has categorized them into three main proposals.[77]

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75 Schäfer, *Jewish Mysticism*, 68–69.

76 Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments of Twelve*, 31.

77 Robert A. Kugler, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, GAP (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 31. For a more extensive summary of the different positions, see Marinus de Jonge, "The Interpretation of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in Recent Years," in *Studies on*

First, most scholars over the last century have argued that the *Testaments* has a Jewish original or *Grundschrift* to which Christian interpolations have been added.[78] In such proposals, the Jewish *Grundschrift* is itself a composite work and not the work of one author. However, scholars differ on how many redactions the *Grundschrift* underwent. For some scholars, the redaction history of the *Testaments* includes three stages: a Jewish original, a one-time addition of Jewish material, and a final Christian interpolation. For others, the Jewish *Grundschrift* grew over time at the hands of numerous Jewish redactors and editors. What all these scholars agree on is that they could identify and remove the Christian interpolations—characterized by messianic expectations—thereby leaving them with a pre-Christian, original *Testaments*.

Second, a few scholars have argued that the proposed "Christian" interpolations are, in fact, not "Christian" but "Essene" interpolations.[79] As with the above proposal, the messianic interpolations (now identified as Essene rather than Christian) can be identified and removed, thereby preserving an original *Testaments*.

Third, Marinus de Jonge has championed the view that it is impossible to reconstruct a Jewish *Grundschrift*. One is left simply with the current form of the *Testaments*, which is a Christian composition that incorporated many Jewish traditions.[80] A Christian compiler, according to de Jonge, sought out all relevant material for composing the *Testaments*, most of which were Jewish traditions, and the Christian redactor not only brought that material together but also re-

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the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Text and Interpretation, SVTP 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 183–92; Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments of Twelve*, 3–7.

78 Friedrich Schnapp, *Die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen* (Halle: n.p., 1884); R. H. Charles, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908); Detlev Haupt, "Das Testament des Levi: Untersuchungen zu seiner Entstehung und Überlieferungsgeschichte" (Ph.D. diss., Halle: n.s., 1969); Jürgen Becker, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen*, AGJU 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1970); Anders Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments des douze patriarches*, 2 vols., AUUHR 6–7 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977); cf. Robert A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi*, SBLEJL 9 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 174. For arguments against this approach, see Marinus de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Study of Their Text, Composition and Origin* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1953).

79 André Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, trans. G. Vermes (Oxford: Blackwell, 1961).

80 de Jonge, *Testaments of Twelve*; Marinus de Jonge, "Christian Influence in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *NovT* (1960): 182–235; Marinus de Jonge, "Levi in Aramaic Levi and in the Testament of Levi," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Esther G. Chazon and Michael Stone, STDJ 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 71; Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments of Twelve*, 85.

wrote it. Thus, there was a long redactional and compositional history behind the *Testaments*, but its current form is an expressly Christian work.

One can see how these different proposals would result in dramatic differences in the date and provenance of the *Testaments*. For instance, R. H. Charles dates the original *Testaments* to 109 – 107 BCE,[81] whereas de Jonge dates the Christian composition to the second half of the second century CE.[82] However, each proposal agrees that Jewish sources and traditions lie behind the current text. The use of sources is most evidently the case for the *Testament of Levi*, since a number of texts have been discovered at Qumran, the Cairo Geniza, and Mount Athos that contain what is thought to be source material for the *Testament of Levi*.[83] These texts, particularly the Qumran materials that form the basis of the *Aramaic Levi Document* (henceforth, *ALD*),[84] demonstrate that the source material behind the *Testament of Levi* existed at least before the middle of the second century BCE.[85]

In terms of our present investigation, the concern becomes whether *T. Levi* 3:4 – 6 is a part of the traditional Jewish material and, therefore, represents sacrificial notions current in the first century CE. Many scholars think that *Testament of Levi* 3 is one of the later developments to the Levi material that became the *Testament of Levi*.[86] From a source-critical perspective, none of the proposed source materials (e. g., the *ALD*) contains extensive parallels to *Testament of Levi* 3, which may suggest that it was a later addition to the *Testament of Levi*.[87] However, the extant source materials are quite fragmentary, and, therefore, the ab-

81 Charles, *Testaments of Twelve*, lii–liii.

82 Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments of Twelve*, 85. In his first work, de Jonge dates the *Testaments* between 190 – 225 CE (*Testaments of Twelve*, 125).

83 H. C. Kee, "Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 1:776 – 77; de Jonge, *Testaments of Twelve*, 129 – 31; de Jonge, "Levi in Aramaic Levi," 89; Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments of Twelve*, 23 – 27; Kugler, *Patriarch to Priest*, 174; Kugler, *Testaments of Twelve*, 29.

84 For reconstructions of the *ALD*, see Kugler, *Patriarch to Priest*; Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary*, SVTP 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document*, JSJSup 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 97 – 204.

85 Kugler, *Patriarch to Priest*, 131 – 35; Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 19.

86 Cf. de Jonge, *Testaments of Twelve*, 46 – 49; Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, 258 – 60; Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments*, 2:109; Jarl Henning Ulrichsen, *Die Grundschrift der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen: Eine Untersuchung zu Umfang, Inhalt und Eigenart der ursprünglichen Schrift*, AUUHR 10 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1991), 189 – 93; Kugler, *Patriarch to Priest*, 182.

87 Kugler, *Testaments of Twelve*, 53.

sence of precursors to *Testament of Levi* 3 does not mean that it was not part of the source material.[88]

Most arguments for the later development of *Testament of Levi* 3 are literary arguments that identify a number of "seams" in the existing manuscripts of *Testament of Levi*. First, scholars often consider *T. Levi* 2:7–4:1 an addition that disrupts the flow of the document's argument. *Testament of Levi* 2:1–6 introduces the Shechem incident. Levi sees all of the sinfulness around him, which leads him to pray to God to be delivered from it. He then falls asleep and has a vision of a mountain. The heavens open, and an angel of the Lord begins to speak, "Levi, Levi, enter!" (2.6). *Testament of Levi* 2:7–4:1 proceeds to describe Levi's ascent through the heavens, but it is not until *T. Levi* 4:2 that Levi's prayer is truly answered. The angel says, "The Most High has given heed to your prayer that you be delivered from wrongdoing, that you should become a son to him, as minister and priest in his presence." Since the angel's words in 4:2 respond directly to the concerns of 2:5, Kugler argues that 4:2 is the natural or original continuation of the angel's words in 2:6, so 2:7–4:1 is a later addition.[89] Second, scholars even find the section of 2:7–4:1 to be a compilation of sources. *Testament of Levi* 2:7–9 describes three heavens, 3:1–3 redescribes those three heavens, and 3:4–6 adds four more heavens, thereby bringing the total number of heavens to seven. Scholars have suggested that 3:1–3 could be an addition, because it expands on and rearticulates 2:7–9; further, 3:4–6 may be an even later addition, since it changes the total number of heavens from three to seven.[90]

Based on these source-critical and literary arguments, it appears likely that *T. Levi* 3:1–8 is one of the later developments in the *Testament of Levi*. However, being part of the later developments of the *Testament of Levi* does not mean that it represents a post-first-century CE tradition. Most scholars think these later traditions still ought to be identified with a first-century CE or earlier "Jewish" tradition.[91] Only Marinus de Jonge argues that the composite picture of *T. Levi*

88 For those who think that the *ALD* contained portions of the vision found in *T. Levi* 2:5–6:2, see Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, esp. 69; cf. de Jonge, *Testaments of Twelve*, 38; de Jonge, "Levi in Aramaic Levi," 83; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 34–35; Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 227–28.

89 Kugler, *Patriarch to Priest*, 182; cf. Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, 260.

90 For a discussion of these ideas, see de Jonge, *Testaments of Twelve*, 46–48; Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, 260; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift der Testamente*, 189–93; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 32–33; Jody A. Barnard, *The Mysticism of Hebrews: Exploring the Role of Jewish Apocalyptic Mysticism in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, WUNT 2/331 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 60–62.

91 Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments*, 2:109; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift der Testamente*, 189–93; Kugler, *Patriarch to Priest*, 195.

3:1–8 leads to the conclusion that it is a "Christian" composition written after Hebrews.[92] Thus, while source- and literary-critical approaches have typically concluded that *T. Levi* 3:4–6 is one of the later developments of the work, they still identify it as part of first-century tradition. Yet, de Jonge's conclusions to the contrary demonstrate that these methods are not ultimately conclusive in making such a determination.

Due to the inconclusive results of source- and literary-critical approaches, one must attempt to make a determination about the "Christian" or "Jewish" character of *T. Levi* 3:1–8 based on its content. In doing so, one must heed the warning of Marinus de Jonge: "The very fact that Jewish traditions were taken over by Christian groups with or without alterations, and that Jewish documents were used for and adapted to Christian purposes makes it well nigh impossible to distinguish exactly between Jewish and Christian elements in the Testaments."[93] Trying to determine what is "Jewish" and what is "Christian" in the *Testament of Levi* is a precarious venture, so we will proceed cautiously, and our conclusions will be modest.

As noted above, large portions of *Testament of Levi* 3 parallel Jewish material written before the first century CE. Levi ascends to heaven from a high mountain and, after passing through fire, snow, and ice, comes to a heavenly Holy of Holies, where angels of the presence offer sacrifices that propitiate God. All of this material finds parallels in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and *ShirShabb*,[94] which not only identifies this material as not explicitly "Christian" but also roots it in "Jewish" traditions from prior to the first century CE.[95] In addition, certain extant Levi traditions (e.g., *ALD*) likely served as source material for *Testament of Levi* 3,[96] which further identifies this text with "early" Jewish traditions.

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92 de Jonge, *Testaments of Twelve*, 47; de Jonge, "Interpretation in Recent Years," 184; de Jonge, "Levi in Aramaic Levi," 86.

93 de Jonge, "Interpretation in Recent Years," 189. De Jonge uses this perspective to argue that one cannot in any way "get behind" the extant Christian form of the *Testament of Levi* to some form of Original *Testament of Levi*. For a more optimistic, yet still conservative, approach, see Kugler, *Patriarch to Priest*, 177–78.

94 Similarly Marc Philonenko, *Les interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des Douze Patriarches et les Manuscrits de Qoumrân*, RHPR 35 (Paris: Presses universitaire de France, 1960), 5; Rowland, "Second Temple," 189; Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 132; cf. de Jonge, *Testaments of Twelve*, 48.

95 Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 132; Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, 267–68 n. 6.

96 Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel suggest that the description in *ALD* 4:4–6 (4Q214[4QTLevi^{b}] ar) resembles *T. Levi* 3:5–6 (*Aramaic Levi Document*, 69). Similarly, manuscript *e* of the *Testament of Levi* includes an interesting addition to 5:2: δοθήσεται ἡ ἱερατεία καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου τοῦ λειτουργεῖν τῷ ὑψίστῳ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐξιλάσκεσθαί σε ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀγνοίαις τῆς γῆς. God

Along with the material consistent with previous traditions, *Testament of Levi* 3, as noted above, also includes two elements unique to the heavenly cult tradition, and these ought to be examined to determine whether they bear the marks of Christian influence. First, *T. Levi* 3:5 identifies the sins that are propitiated as sins of ignorance (ἀγνοίας). Nothing about this statement is uniquely "Christian," and it may fit better within a "Jewish" framework (cf. Lev 4:13; 5:18; *Pss. Sol.* 3:8). However, making a distinction between "Jewish" and "Christian" on this point seems somewhat dubious.

Second, *T. Levi* 3:6 identifies the offering as "reasonable" (λογικήν) and "bloodless" (ἀναίμακτον). This description has received significant attention because these terms are found in Christian literature to describe prayer and, later, the Eucharist,[97] which has led several scholars to view the allusion to "a reasonable and bloodless offering" either as a Christian interpolation or as proof that the *Testament of Levi* was composed by a Christian author.[98] Others have traced this concept to the Essenes or to Hellenistic Judaism, thereby identifying the notion not as "Christian" but as "Jewish."[99] While in this instance—as opposed to the inclusion of ἀγνοίας—there is evidence to suggest "Christian" influence, the evidence is not conclusive, and one's decision about whether λογικήν and ἀναίμακτον represent "Christian" influences will depend largely on one's understanding of the tradition history of the *Testament of Levi*.

Based on our examination, therefore, we conclude that *T. Levi* 3:1–6 is comprised primarily of material consistent with "Jewish" traditions prior to the first century; however, the identification of the offering as λογικήν and ἀναίμακτον may indicate the influence of a later, "Christian" redactor. The question then be-

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here gives to Levi and his seed the duties of ministering (λειτουργεῖν) before him and making atonement (ἐξιλάσκεσθαί) for sins of ignorance (ἀγνοίαις), duties given to the angels in *T. Levi* 3:5. Thus, a composition parallel to 3:5 is found in some texts of *T. Levi* 5:2, which does not have the same literary- and source-critical difficulties as 3:5. Further, the other two additions to manuscript *e*—at *T. Levi* 2:3 and 18:2—find precedents in the texts found at Cairo Genizah and Qumran. For this reason, Hultgård suggests that *T. Levi* 3:5 may have been composed from the additional material found in manuscript *e*, which likely had precedents in earlier documents (Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments*, 2:109).

97 E.g., Rom 12:1. For further Christian literature that uses λογικήν and ἀναίμακτον, see de Jonge, *Testaments of Twelve*, 48; Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments of Twelve*, 138. Further, for "pleasing odor" (ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας), see Phil 4:18; Eph 5:2. Contra Schäfer, *Jewish Mysticism*, 69.

98 de Jonge, *Testaments of Twelve*, 48–49; Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments of Twelve*, 138; Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 132.

99 For Essene, e.g., Philonenko, *Les interpolations*; cf. Charles, *Testaments of Twelve*, 34. For Hellenistic Judaism, e.g., Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, 267–68 n. 6.

comes, how should *T. Levi* 3:1–6 influence our examination of first-century sacrificial notions? Since the vast majority of *T. Levi* 3:1–6 most likely represents a Jewish tradition from before the first century CE, where it parallels the material in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, we will view the *Testament of Levi* as confirmation of first-century, heavenly cult traditions. However, due to the composite nature of the *Testament of Levi* and the problems surrounding issues of its origin, we should not make too much of the unique developments (the sins of ignorance and rational, bloodless offering), by suggesting that they were definitively part of the tradition before the writing of Hebrews.

Finally, we turn to examine how the heavenly cult functions in the *Testament of Levi*. The description of a heavenly temple filled with angelic priests who offer heavenly sacrifices validates the priesthood of Levi because it describes the heavenly priesthood and cult in the same way that it describes Levi's priesthood and the Jerusalem cult.[100] (1) The angelic priests are called "angels of the presence of the Lord" (οἱ ἄγγελοί εἰσι τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου; 3:5; cf. 3:7), and they are those who serve (λειτουργοῦντες) before him. Combining these descriptions, Levi is designated a servant in the presence of God (λειτουργὸν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ; 4:2, cf. 2:10). (2) Further, manuscript *e* contains an addition to *T. Levi* 5:2, in which God gives the priesthood to Levi and his seed to serve (λειτουργεῖν) and propitiate the sins of ignorance of the earth (ἐξιλάσκεσθαί σε ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀγνοίαις τῆς γῆς). Thus, some manuscripts highlight not only the correspondence in *office* between the angelic priests and Levi, but also the correspondence in *function* (cf. *T. Levi* 3:5). In this way, the *Testament of Levi* establishes a clear connection between the angelic priesthood and Levi's priesthood. Although some of Levi's seed became corrupt (*T. Levi* 14–18), the essence of the priesthood was still valid because it was patterned after the angelic cult and priesthood. There is debate as to what priestly group the *Testament of Levi* historically verified in opposition to other priestly groups.[101] Still, it is sufficiently clear that the heavenly cult was intended to validate some form of earthly cult by finding its precedent

100 de Jonge, *Testaments of Twelve*, 49; Marinus de Jonge, "Notes on Testament of Levi II–VII," in *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Text and Interpretation*, SVTP 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 259; Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments*, 1:21; Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 132–33; cf. Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 48–51.

101 For historical proposals that think *Testament of Levi* validates the Hasmonean priesthood, a sectarian community apart from the Jerusalem temple such as the Essenes, or a Christian "spiritual" cult, see Kugler, *Testaments of Twelve*, 51, 216–17; R. H. Charles, "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Introduction," in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 2:289–90; de Jonge, *Testaments of Twelve*, 49; Klawans, *Sacrifice*, 132–33; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 30; Segal, "Heavenly Ascent," *ANRW* 23.2: 1360.

in heaven. The proper earthly cult is an emulation of the heavenly cult; therefore, the description of the heavenly cult establishes the levitical priests—in both office and function—as the terrestrial representatives of the angels of God and identifies the Jerusalem temple as analogous to the heavenly temple.[102]

3.5 Post-70 CE Texts

While *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* help to establish the notions of a heavenly cult and a correspondence between the heavenly and earthly cult, they lack the explicit descriptions found in *ShirShabb* and *Testament of Levi* of a fully functioning heavenly cult serviced by angelic priests in a heavenly temple. For this reason, one could wonder whether these descriptive accounts of the heavenly cult represent a marginal and aberrant notion in Judaism, which was unlikely to influence the author of Hebrews or his audience. However, there are a number of post-70 CE texts that allude to a heavenly cult.[103] Since, as I will argue in the next chapter, Hebrews was likely written before 70 CE, these texts could not form part of the socio-religious context behind Hebrews's sacrifice theology. Yet, they do indicate that notions of a heavenly cult were neither marginal nor aberrant but were accepted as valid inferences from Scripture in numerous and diverse segments of Judaism.

In *3 Baruch* (late first to early second century CE[104]), Baruch ascends to the fifth heaven, where he encounters Michael, who has descended to receive the prayers of humanity (11:4). Michael collects in a large bowl "the virtues of the righteous and the good works which they do … , which are brought by [Michael] before the heavenly God" (11:9; cf. 14:2). Michael gathers these offerings from angels of the various principalities of earth; each angel carries a basket filled with flowers that are the "virtues of the righteous" (12:5). The angelic presentation of prayers, virtues, and good works "constitutes a priestly activity."[105] Michael and

102 Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments*, 1:21.

103 The *Testament of Adam* was likely written in the third century by a Christian redactor who made use of Jewish traditions (Stephen E. Robinson, *The Testament of Adam: An Examination of the Syriac and Greek Traditions*, SBLDS 52 [Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982], 135–53). It describes human and angelic worship that may establish a "correspondence between the earthly and heavenly sanctuaries and liturgies" (Stephen E. Robinson, "The Testament of Adam and the Angelic Liturgy," *RevQ* 12 [1985]: 108).

104 Daniel C. Harlow, *The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch) in Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity*, SVTP 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 14–15.

105 Ibid., 35; similarly Dean-Otting, *Heavenly Journeys*, 152.

the angels mediate between God and humanity. The good works and prayers of humanity are carried in bowls (like incense) to God in the highest heaven, where they are offered to God. There is a correspondence between the heavenly cult and earthly actions, but in a slightly different form than, for instance, in *ShirShabb.* In *3 Baruch*, the earthly actions of righteousness—that appear to include cultic actions (cf. 16:4)—become the content of the sacrifices in heaven.

The Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* (first to second century CE[106]) offers a bizarre description of angelic sacrifice that achieves forgiveness for humans. At the time of the death of Adam (*L.A.E.* 31), it is unclear whether God will be reconciled to Adam and Eve, and Eve responds by repenting of her sins (32:1–2). She is then taken up to heaven, where she is brought to Adam's body. The angels intercede before God on behalf of Adam, presenting incense offerings and calling on God to "forgive [συγχώρησον], for he is your image, and the work of your (holy) hands'" (33:4–5). Thus, the Greek *L.A.E.* offers a picture of the angels offering sacrifices on behalf of humans and seeking forgiveness for them.

On three occasions, the Talmud refers to the heavenly temple, where Michael, the great Prince, stands before the altar and offers sacrifices (*b. Ḥagigah* 12b; *b. Menaḥot* 110a; *b. Zebaḥim* 62a). Thus, by the time the Talmud was composed, the notion of a heavenly cult administered by angels was a relatively common notion (similarly *Numbers Rabbah* XII, 12).[107] It does not appear to be eccentric or aberrant, but it is a valid and acceptable answer to common exegetical issues.

3.6 Conclusion

By the first century CE, consistent depictions of a heavenly cult are found in Jewish literature. An ornate heavenly temple is populated by angels of the presence who are tasked with offering sacrifices and, in so doing, propitiating God. The heavenly cult existed from the time of creation and, therefore, is rooted in the heavenly and created order. Each aspect of the heavenly cult—the temple, the priesthood, and the sacrificial rituals—corresponds to an earthly equivalent. Thus, the earthly cult follows after the heavenly cult, either to imitate the prototypical model or to synchronize the earthly worship with the heavenly. In this

106 Knittel, *Leben Adams und Evas*, 63.

107 For other examples of heavenly cult in Rabbinic literature, see Beate Ego, *Im Himmel wie auf Erden: Studien zum Verhältnis von himmlischer und irdischer Welt im rabbinischen Judentum*, WUNT 2/34 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989).

way, identifying the heavenly temple and cult as the ideal and real temple and cult (rather than the earthly) does not diminish the earthly counterpart;[108] rather, it serves to legitimize the earthly, levitical cult.[109] Although there were many debates in Second Temple Judaism concerning the proper administration of the temple, the heavenly cult validated the levitical cult's essence and called for cultic actions that continued to align the worshiper with the heavenly cult. While the *ShirShabb* employed the heavenly cult to promote the Qumran Community's worship over that of the Jerusalem temple, its employment of the heavenly cult does not invalidate the levitical cult. Rather, it acknowledges that the Community's worship more closely parallels the heavenly cult, and it holds out hope that this faithful Community will again control the temple praxis. The heavenly cult, while it could critique the improper worship actually taking place in Jerusalem, always functioned to validate the (properly performed) levitical cult because it highlighted the correspondence between the earthly cult and the ideal cult administered according to the heavenly creational order.[110]

108 Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 13, 22.
109 Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and Temple*, 142.
110 Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, 43.

4 Heavenly Tabernacle and Cult in Hebrews

This monograph contends that the heavenly sanctuary establishes the framework to understand the relationship between the old and new covenant sacrifices. Without understanding how the heavenly sanctuary functions, one cannot understand how the author understands sacrifice.

This proposal runs counter to some recent scholarship that identifies the new covenant as the determining framework for Hebrews's discussion of sacrifice and salvation in Heb 8:1–10:18.[1] The quotation of Jer 38:31–34 (LXX) in Heb 8:8–12 is the most extended quotation of the Old Testament in the entire New Testament, and a shortened citation of this text appears in Heb 10:16–17, which leads some scholars to view the new covenant citations as framing the entire discussion of sacrifice.[2]

Although the new covenant is a vital theme in Hebrews 8–10, the idea of the heavenly sanctuary appears to establish the framework for the new covenant theme. While the new covenant citations in Heb 8:8–12 and 10:16–17 do frame part of Hebrews's discussion of sacrifice, the larger section is introduced via the heavenly sanctuary. Hebrews 8:1–2 begins by introducting the "high priest, who sat down at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in heaven, and who serves in the sanctuary, the true tabernacle set up by the Lord, not by man." The new covenant is mentioned in 8:6 as evidence supporting the author's argument that Jesus's ministry in the heavenly sanctuary is superior to the ministry of the levitical priests in the earthly sanctuary. Not only does Jesus serve in the superior sanctuary, but his ministry also is based on a better covenant (κρείττονός διαθήκης) and better promises (κρείττοσιν ἐπαγγελίαις). The author then takes the supporting argument related to the covenant in v. 6 and defends it in vv. 7–13. These verses are dominated by the quotation of Jer 31:31–34 (LXX 38:31–34), and the author frames the quotation with his interpretation, noting in both vv. 7–8 and v. 13 the superiority of the new covenant.[3] The entire section, therefore, appears to be included to support the author's claims in 8:1–6 that Je-

1 Harold W. Attridge, "The Uses of Antithesis in Hebrews 8–10," *HTR* 79 (1986): 6; Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews*, esp. 11; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 8; Sebastian Fuhrmann, "Failures Forgotten: The Soteriology in Hebrews Revisited in the Light of its Quotation of Jeremiah 38:31–34 [LXX]," *Neot* 41 (2007): 295–316; Joslin, *Law*, 226–27; cf. Knut Backhaus, *Der Neue Bund und das Werden der Kirche: Die Diatheke-Deutung des Hebräerbriefs im Rahmen der frühchristlichen Theologiegeschichte*, NTAbh 29 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1996).

2 Attridge, "Antithesis in Hebrews," 6.

3 Fuhrmann, "Failures Forgotten," 302; Koester, *Hebrews*, 388–89; cf. Backhaus, *Neue Bund*, 179–81.

sus's ministry in the heavenly sanctuary is superior to the levitical ministry in the earthly sanctuary.[4]

Not only does 8:1–10:18 begin with a discussion of the heavenly sanctuary, but the focus on the heavenly sanctuary and cult (and its earthly counterpart) persists throughout Hebrews 8–10, engrossing the discourse in 8:1–6; 9:1–14, 23–28; 10:11–14, 19–22. While the shortened new covenant citation concludes a section at 10:16–18,[5] the transition from the indicative to the exhortative at 10:19 returns to the theme of the heavenly sanctuary as the author exhorts his listeners to "have confidence to enter the Most Holy Place"—i.e., the heavenly sanctuary. This transition demonstrates that the main point the author has been making relates to the heavenly sanctuary, as his main exhortatory conclusion is the ability of believers to enter God's presence, the heavenly sanctuary. Further, the themes of Jesus's ascension and enthronement (e.g., 1:5–13; 2:12–13; 12:2) and Jesus's self-sacrifice (1:3; 4:14; 6:19–20; 7:26) permeate Hebrews, and Hebrews 8–10 places both of these events in the heavenly sanctuary.[6] Thus, while the new covenant is an important theme, this project will examine how the heavenly sanctuary may be the determining framework for the author's discussion of sacrifice. The assumptions regarding the function of the heavenly sanctuary may help clarify the relationship between the old covenant, earthly sacrifices and the new covenant, heavenly sacrifice.

4.1 Introduction to Hebrews

As we now turn to a discussion of Hebrews, we must articulate some presuppositions about the book. First, while scholars have proposed numerous potential authors of Hebrews (e.g., Paul, Priscilla, Barnabas, Apollos, Luke), we will proceed without making a determination on this matter. We simply do not know who

4 Jared Compton comes to a similar conclusion, when he argues that Hebrews 8–10 is shaped more by Psalm 110 (exaltation and priestly Melchizedek) than Jeremiah 31 (new covenant) (*Psalm 110*, 141–42, 162–64).

5 Whereas Heb 8:7–13 highlights the negative conclusion of the new covenant (i.e., the insufficiency of the first covenant), the author uses the Jeremiah quotation in Heb 10:16–18 to highlight the positive aspect of the new covenant—i.e., the forgiveness of sins that has resulted from Christ's ministry in the heavenly sanctuary.

6 For a similar argument regarding the importance of the heavenly sanctuary, see Scott D. Mackie, "Heavenly Sanctuary Mysticism in the Epistle to the Hebrews," *JTS* 62 (2011): 78; ibid., "Ancient Jewish Mystical Motifs in Hebrews' Theology of Access and Entry Exhortations," *NTS* 58 (2011): 88.

wrote Hebrews.[7] However, although we do not know the identity of the author, a few things may be said about him.[8] For instance, while the author is anonymous to modern readers, the author knew his recipients, and, presumably, his audience knew him. In addition, the author appears to have had some rhetorical training as his writing displays knowledge of grammar, vocabulary, and literary style. Further, the author was very familiar with the Jewish scriptures in the LXX form, which may suggest that he was a Jewish-Christian who was raised studying the LXX.[9]

Second, Hebrews was likely written before 70 CE.[10] In Heb 10:2, the author asks, if the levitical sacrifices had been able to perfect the worshipers, "would they not have stopped being offered?" The rhetorical question presumes a positive answer in agreement with the author, which would be quite striking if, in fact, the sacrifices had stopped being offered due to the destruction of the temple.[11] In addition, the general argument of the author in chs. 8–10, that there is no longer a need for levitical sacrifices in light of Christ's sacrifice, seems more rhetorically apropros if the cult was presently being practiced. Still, it is conceivable that the addressees—in a post-70 CE context—desired the restoration of the temple and, therefore, needed to be convinced that the time of the levitical cult had come to an end.[12] Even so, I find it more probable that the book was written prior to 70 CE.[13] Ultimately, however, the thesis of

7 E.g., Attridge, *Hebrews*, 5–6; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:xlix–li; Lindars, *Hebrews*, 17; Koester, *Hebrews*, 45; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 8–9.

8 The identification of the author as a male is based on the masculine participle διηγούενον in 11:32.

9 E.g., Attridge, *Hebrews*, 5; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:l–li; Salevao, *Legitimation*, 101.

10 Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 3–4; Bruce, *Hebrews*, 20–22; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 29–33; D. A. Carson and Douglas J. Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005), 608; Johnson, *Hebrews*, 38–40; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 484–87; Philip Church, "The Temple in the Apocalypse of Weeks and in Hebrews," *TynBul* 64 (2013): 115–17.

11 Bruce, *Hebrews*, 22; Carson and Moo, *Introduction*, 607; Koester, *Hebrews*, 53; Johnson, *Hebrews*, 39; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 19; cf. Barnard, *Mysticism*, 6. Similarly, the statement that access to the divine presence is denied as long as the second tent has standing (ἐχούσης στάσιν; 9:7) loses rhetorical significance if the second tent no longer exists (or, consequently, has legal standing) (Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 485; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 85; Church, "Temple in Apocalypse of Weeks and Hebrews," 121–22). In addition, 8:5 and 13:10 seem to presume the presence of an active priesthood.

12 Some scholars argue that Hebrews was written in the aftermath of the fall of Jerusalem to bolster confidence in the sufficiency of Christ's atonement (e. g., Isaacs, *Sacred Space*; Schenck, *Cosmology*, esp. 195–98; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 7–11; cf. Barnard, *Mysticism*, 6).

13 The typical arguments for a later date are that the high Christology and replacement theology of Hebrews betray a later development in Christianity (see Spicq, *Hébreux*, 1:253; Attridge,

this book is not dependent on a pre- or post-70 CE date, since believers were concerned with sacrifice both before and after the destruction of the temple.

Third, while Hebrews was most likely written to a specific congregation, it does not make clear where the church was located. Although modern scholars lean strongly toward Rome as the location of the congregation, we will not choose among Rome, Palestine, Alexandria, Samaria, Antioch, Corinth, Ephesus, or Colossae (all of which have been proposed) but will leave the location indeterminate.[14]

Fourth, scholars have debated whether the church consisted of Jewish or Gentile Christians. While I tend to view the recipients as a Jewish-Christian or a blended audience, the conclusion pertinent to this work is that, regardless of the ethnic identity of the addressees, they (whether Jewish or Gentile) revered the Jewish Scriptures and its institutions. "Gentile Christians often shared the mentality of the strain of Jewish Christians who converted them" and became quite proficient in the Jewish Scriptures.[15] Thus, while the ethnic identity of the addressees is indeterminate,[16] we can assume that the recipients were familiar with the Septuagint, the institutions of the old covenant, and Jewish exegetical traditions.

Fifth, this work will assume that Hebrews operates within a Jewish-apocalyptic background.[17] The conceptual background to Hebrews has been a contentious issue. The dominant understanding in the twentieth century was that Hebrews was extensively influenced by Hellenistic Judaism, particularly by Philo. In 1952, Ceslas Spicq concluded that the author of Hebrews was "un philonien converti au christianisme,"[18] a statement which unassailably established Philo

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Hebrews, 9; Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007], 696). However, a similarly "high" Christology can be found in the early Pauline letters (e.g., 1 Cor 8:6; Phil 2:6–11; Col 1:15–20) (Carson and Moo, *Introduction*, 608; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 19). In addition, Paul describes the food regulations and feasts of the old covenant in similar fashion to Hebrews (10:1) as a "shadow of the things that were to come" that finds fulfillment or reality in Christ (Col 2:17).

14 For a discussion of these positions, see Attridge, *Hebrews*, 9–13; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:liii–lx; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 21–27; Koester, *Hebrews*, 64–79; Carson and Moo, *Introduction*, 608–12.

15 Brown, *Introduction*, 698.

16 Koester, *Hebrews*, 47–48; cf. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 21–27.

17 The term *apocalyptic* here is used to refer to a worldview derived from apocalypses, which is typified by a distinctive cosmology, elaborate angelologies and demonologies, a heightened interest in otherworldly regions, and a developed eschatology (cf. John J. Collins, "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism," *ABD* 1:283–84).

18 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 1:91. Spicq does not suggest that the author of Hebrews adopted Philonism or Platonism wholesale. Rather, he argues that the author both agrees and disagrees with Philo,

as Hebrews's conceptual background.[19] However, the works of C. K. Barrett,[20] Ronald Williamson,[21] and L. D. Hurst[22] unseated the Philonic hegemony and established Jewish apocalyptic as an alternative, so in recent years most scholars have identified Jewish apocalyptic as the dominant conceptual background of Hebrews (or at least as the determining view in which Philonic terms and ideas may be situated).[23]

Key to the shift toward apocalyptic literature was the realization that Hebrews works with a temporal framework that resembles eschatological or linear apocalyptic. The author uses language that temporally distinguishes between the ages: "these last days" (1:2); "the coming age" (6:5); "the end of the ages" (9:26). Further, the apocalyptic themes of Christ's second return (9:28), the final judgment (10:25 – 31), and God's shaking of creation (12:26 – 27; cf. Heb 1:10 – 12) are all present, in addition to the expectation that believers have an inheritance in the life of the new age (e. g., chs. 11 – 12). Hebrews's discussion of rest and pilgrimage fit a temporal scheme,[24] and the letter's cosmology—including the importance of the created world—fits an apocalyptic worldview.[25]

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adopting Philo's thought and vocabulary while rejecting his allegorical or symbolic interpretation.

19 Others who followed this example are, e. g., Moffatt, *Hebrews*, esp. xxxi–xxxii; Sowers, *Philo and Hebrews*; Lala Kalyan Kumar Dey, *The Intermediary World and Patterns of Perfection in Philo and Hebrews*, SBLDS 25 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1975); Thompson, *Beginnings*; Johnson, *Hebrews*.

20 C. K. Barrett, "The Eschatology of the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology*, ed. W. D. Davies and David Daube (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 363 – 93.

21 Williamson, *Philo and Hebrews*.

22 Lincoln D. Hurst, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: Its Background of Thought*, SNTSMS 65 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), esp. 7 – 42.

23 For a recounting of this history, see George H. Guthrie, "Hebrews in Its First-Century Contexts: Recent Research," in *The Face of New Testament Studies: A Survey of Recent Research*, ed. Scot McKnight and Grant R. Osborne (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), 425 – 29; Barnard, *Mysticism*, 7 – 17. For modern acceptance of the apocalyptic position, see, e. g., Koester, *Hebrews*, 100 – 104; Jon Laansma, "The Cosmology of Hebrews," in *Cosmology and New Testament Theology*, ed. Jonathan T. Pennington and Sean M. McDonough, LNTS 355 (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 125 – 43; Edward Adams, "The Cosmology of Hebrews," in *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology*, ed. Richard Bauckham et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 122 – 39; Mackie, *Eschatology*, esp. 3 – 8; David M. Moffitt, *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, NovTSup 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), esp. 148 – 81; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 24 – 34.

24 Barrett, "Eschatology," 363 – 93.

25 See esp. Laansma, "Cosmology," 125 – 43; Adams, "Cosmology," 122 – 39.

It is important, however, not to identify the apocalyptic aspects of Hebrews simply with its temporal characteristics. Too often scholars have identified the linear framework in Hebrews with eschatological or apocalyptic influences and the vertical or spatial (heaven/earth) framework with Platonic or Philonic influences.[26] Rather, both the horizontal and vertical are common in and fit within a Jewish apocalyptic background,[27] in part because Jewish apocalypticism developed in a Hellenistic milieu.[28]

This is not to say that Platonic or Hellenistic aspects to Hebrews are absent; there are parallels in vocabulary and language between Hebrews and Philo. Further, the author uses an elegant Greek style and may refer to the Greco-Roman institutions of the stadium (12:1) and Hellenistic pedagogy (5:11–14).[29] However, these connections do not require that Platonism was the determining worldview of the author or addressees; rather, they can be explained by the fact that the author and addressees were "familiar with a Hellenistic-Jewish milieu"[30] and that the author uses the Septuagint.[31]

We should note, finally, that within the broad world of apocalyptic literature, scholars have linked Hebrews to two particular instantiations of Jewish apocalyptic literature. First, some scholars identified Hebrews with the Qumran Community represented in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Similar themes regarding angels, the new covenant, Melchizedek, and a messiah who was both priest and king led scholars not only to see a connection between Hebrews and Qumran, but also to suggest that the recipients of the letter may have been Christian converts from the Qumran sect[32] or that the recipients were members of the Qumran Community who were not yet Christians.[33] While there are many thematic connec-

26 E.g., George W. MacRae, "Heavenly Temple and Eschatology in the Letter to the Hebrews," *Semeia* 12 (1978): 188–91; Gregory E. Sterling, "Ontology versus Eschatology: Tensions between Author and Community in Hebrews," *SPhilo* 13 (2001): 190–211; cf. Thompson, *Beginnings*, 41–52; Koester, *Hebrews*, 62.

27 Hurst, *Background*, 21–22; David J. MacLeod, "The Cleansing of the True Tabernacle," *BSac* 152 (1995): 62; Koester, *Hebrews*, 63, 98; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 28–31; Barnard, *Mysticism*, 15.

28 Barnard, *Mysticism*, 16–17.

29 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 29; Koester, *Hebrews*, 59.

30 Koester, *Hebrews*, 60.

31 E.g., Williamson, *Philo and Hebrews*, 11–18; Hurst, *Background*, 42; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 45–48; Koester, *Hebrews*, 60; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 37.

32 Yigael Yadin, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Epistle to the Hebrews," *ScrHier* 4 (1958): 38; Ceslas Spicq, "L'Épitre aux Hébreux, Apollos, Jean-Baptiste, les Hellénistes et Qumran," *RevQ* 1 (1959): 365–90; cf. Joseph Coppens, "Les affinités qumrâniennes de l'épître aux Hébreux," *NRTh* 84 (1962): 271; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 10–15.

33 Hans Kosmala, *Hebräer, Essener, Christen: Studien zur Vorgeschichte der frühchristlichen Verkündigung*, StPB 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1959), x, 76–81.

tions between Qumran and Hebrews, it is quite unlikely that there is a direct connection between Hebrews and the Qumran Community or that there was any literary dependency.[34] Nevertheless, the Qumran literature does represent a significant corpus of apocalyptic literature from the first century and exemplifies at least one instantiation of apocalyptic notions current during the time Hebrews was written.[35]

Second, some scholars have identified Hebrews with merkabah mysticism. Scholars have identified the themes of the heavenly sanctuary, the throne and throne room of God, the ministering angels, and the ascent into and participation in the heavenly realm as suggesting a merkabah or proto-merkabah background to Hebrews.[36] The difficulty for connecting Hebrews with merkabah mysticism is that merkabah mysticism is a post-Talmudic phenomenon, which occurred after the writing of Hebrews.[37] Thus, one cannot speak of a connection with merkabah mysticism, but "it may be better … to speak of 'pre-*Merkabah*' tendencies *within* Jewish apocalyptic which may then have gone on to influence" Hebrews.[38]

Hebrews works with a broad apocalyptic worldview. Still, as we discussed in ch. 3, notions of the heavenly sanctuary differed even within apocalypticism, so the following section will identify a strand of mystical apocalypticism that provides the conceptual background for Hebrews's heavenly cult.

34 For arguments against those positions, see Coppens, "Affinités qumrâniennes," 128 – 41, 257 – 82; F. F. Bruce, "'To the Hebrews' or 'To the Essenes'?" *NTS* 9 (1963): 217 – 32; Hurst, *Background*, 43 – 66

35 Eric F. Mason, "Hebrews and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Some Points of Comparison," *PRSt* 37 (2010): 479.

36 Hans-Martin Schenke, "Erwägungen zum Rätsel des Hebräerbriefs," in *Neues Testament und christliche Existenz*, ed. H. D. Betz and L. Schottroff (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1973), 421 – 37; Ronald Williamson, "The Background of the Epistle to the Hebrews," *ExpTim* 57 (1975 – 1976): 232 – 37; cf. Otfried Hofius, *Der Vorhang vor dem Thron Gottes: Eine exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Hebräer 6,19f. und 10,19f.*, WUNT 14 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1972), esp. 95; Hurst, *Background*, 82 – 85.

37 Williamson, "Background," 235 – 36; Craig R. Koester, *The Dwelling of God: The Tabernacle in the Old Testament, Intertestamental Jewish Literature, and the Old Testament*, CBQMS 22 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1989), 172; Hurst, *Background*, 84.

38 Hurst, *Background*, 85.

4.2 Possible Backgrounds to Hebrews's Heavenly Tabernacle

Essential for determining how the heavenly sanctuary functions in Hebrews is determining what conceptual background Hebrews's heavenly sanctuary models. Thus, this section will first examine the Platonic/Philonic notion (sanctuary *as* heaven/cosmos) in contrast to the apocalyptic notion (sanctuary *in* heaven) and second will note two kinds of heavenly temples within apocalyptic literature: the eschatological sanctuary and the throne room sanctuary.[39]

Hellenistic Jewish texts, exemplified by Philo and Josephus, identify the entire cosmos as a sanctuary. These views, therefore, do not speak so much of a heavenly sanctuary but of a cosmological sanctuary. The two sections of the tabernacle—the Holy Place and the Most Holy Place—represent earth and heaven, respectively. For instance, Josephus identifies the Holy of Holies with "a Heaven peculiar to God" and the Holy Place with "sea and land, on which men live" (*Ant*. 3.123; cf. 3.180 – 81). Similarly, Philo uses Moses's vision of the pattern of the tabernacle (Exod 25:9, 40; 26:30) to argue that the outer room represents the transient, created world and the inner room represents the unchanging heavenly, noetic realm.[40] The decorations of the tabernacle, in this schema, represent different aspects of the cosmos—e. g., the sun, moon, planets, etc.[41]

During the twentieth century, scholars typically identified Hebrews's notion of the heavenly sanctuary with the notions present in Hellenistic Judaism, so that Hebrews's heavenly sanctuary is a cosmological sanctuary (sanctuary *as* cosmos).[42] The primary reason scholars identify Hebrews's heavenly sanctuary with the Hellenistic, cosmological traditions is Hebrews's spatial distinction be-

39 I am not discussing notions of the heavenly sanctuary present in Gnostic texts or Rabbinic texts. For a short discussion of and dismissal of these approaches, see Koester, *Dwelling*, 171.
40 Sterling, "Ontology," 194 – 95; Koester, *Dwelling*, 174 – 82. See *Alleg. Interp*. 3.102; *Cherubim* 23 – 26; *Planting* 26 – 27, 50; *Heir* 75; *Prelim. Studies* 116 – 17; *Dreams* 1.185 – 87; *Moses* 2.71 – 75, 88, 98, 102 – 3; *Spec. Laws* 1.66; *QE* 2.52, 82, 90 – 96.
41 E.g., esp. *Cherubim* 23 – 26; *Moses* 2.88, 98, 102 – 3; *QE* 2.75, 91.
42 Cf. Moffatt, *Hebrews*, xxxiii–xxxiv; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:232; Ernst Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk: Eine Untersuchung zum Hebräerbrief*, FRLANT 55 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961), 135; Ulrich Luck, "Himmlisches und irdisches Geschehen im Hebräerbrief: Ein Beitrag zum Problem des historischen Jesus im Urchristentum," *NovT* 6 (1963): 208; Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 136 – 37; Sowers, *Philo and Hebrews*, 106 – 10; MacRae, "Heavenly Temple," 184 – 88; Thompson, *Beginnings*, 113 – 15, 160; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 223 – 24; Koester, *Dwelling*, 174 – 82; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 433 – 37, 486 – 87; Sterling, "Ontology," 190 – 211, esp. 199 – 204; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 151 – 55.

tween heaven and earth that elevates the heavenly over the earthly.[43] C. K. Barrett (1956) and L. D. Hurst (1984/1990) were the most prominent voices to challenge the Philonic background of Hebrews's heavenly sanctuary.[44] While they promoted an apocalyptic background, they still considered spatial, vertical distinctions to be Platonic and Hellenistic whereas temporal, horizontal distinctions were eschatological and apocalyptic. This distinction led Barrett and Hurst to diminish the vertical/spatial distinction in Hebrews and to emphasize the temporal/horizontal. In response, scholars such as George MacRae and Gregory Sterling attempted to balance the vertical and horizontal aspects in Hebrews by arguing for a blend of Platonic and apocalyptic notions.[45] Yet, these debates worked with the false assumption that spatial/horizontal distinctions are distinctively Hellenistic and Platonic in a way distinct from apocalyptic thought. Rather, as exemplified in ch. 3, "the idea that heaven is superior to the earth is hardly peculiar to Platonic traditions."[46] The apocalyptic tradition uses vertical and temporal categories, so that the vertical distinction that elevates the heavenly over the earthly is perfectly consistent with apocalyptic texts.[47] Thus, the spatial/vertical distinction inherent in Hebrews's discussion of the heavenly sanctuary does not by itself identify Hebrews's heavenly sanctuary with Platonic or Philonic ideas. As a result, the merit of a Hellenistic Jewish background must be determined by the other arguments posited by those who hold this position.

Scholars who identify Hebrews's heavenly sanctuary with Platonic or Philonic ideas argue that Hebrews describes the heavenly sanctuary using Platonic *termini technici*, such as τύπος, ἀντίτυπα, σκιά, ἀληθινός, and ὑπόδειγμα.[48] However, Hebrews uses these terms in ways distinct from Platonic usage and appears to avoid distinctively Platonic terminology. (1) While the term παράδειγμα is a Pla-

43 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 1:73; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 223; Sterling, "Ontology," 208. Cody attributes the axiological perspective to a "basic dualism, Platonic in origin" (*Heavenly Sanctuary*, 35 – 36, 78 – 79, 151, here 79).

44 Barrett, "Eschatology," 363 – 93; Hurst, *Background*, 21 – 41.

45 MacRae, "Heavenly Temple," 179 – 99; Sterling, "Ontology," esp. 208 – 11.

46 Barnard, *Mysticism*, 100; similarly Calaway, *Sabbath and Sanctuary*, 16 – 17; Nicholas J. Moore, *Repetition in Hebrews: Plurality and Singularity in the Letter to the Hebrews, Its Ancient Context, and the Early Church*, WUNT 2/388 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 150.

47 Sterling is underwhelmed by the apocalyptic texts that discuss a heavenly tabernacle; however, he ignores some of the texts listed in ch. 3, because he limits his investigation to texts that cite Exod 25:40 or use the word tabernacle. Further, he limits apocalyptic texts to a temporal, eschatological understanding and does not acknowledge the vertical, spatial distinctions ("Ontology," 204 – 8).

48 Koester, *Dwelling*, 179; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 223; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 434 – 37, 486 – 87; Sterling, "Ontology," 194 – 95, 208.

tonic *terminus technicus* for the heavenly pattern (like ἀρχέτυπον), Hebrews uses the term ὑπόδειγμα, which is never used by Plato or Philo to refer to an earthly copy.[49] (2) Hebrews uses τύπος only as part of the quotation of Exod 25:40 (Heb 8:5), and, therefore, one cannot ascribe a Platonic worldview to Hebrews based on this citation. (3) While the term ἀντίτυπα had Platonic connotations by the third century CE, it is unclear whether it was a Platonic *terminus technicus* by the first century.[50] Further, even if ἀντίτυπα (or σκιά for that matter) was used by some writers as a Platonic *terminus technicus* does not mean that Hebrews uses it in this way.[51] The author appears to use both ἀντίτυπα and σκιά to refer to an earthly copy of a heavenly original, but such usage does not carry the Platonic notion of a sensible copy of an ideal form. (4) Hebrews avoids distinctive Platonic terminology like ἰδέα, εἰδός, νόος, νοητός, αἴσθησις/αἰσθητός, παράδειγμα, and μίμημα, which would have clearly denoted a Platonic distinction.[52] (5) In contrast, Hebrews uses the Platonic *terminus technicus* εἰκών but in a way contrary to Platonic usage. Whereas Plato and Philo use εἰκών to identify the lower form in a hierarchical relationship between the ideal and its copy (often with εἰκών referring to the sense-perceptible copies of the ideal archetypes), Hebrews uses εἰκών in the opposite sense, using εἰκών to identify the higher form in a hierarchical relationship (in contrast to σκιά).[53]

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49 See below, p. 111 n. 136.

50 Koester, *Hebrews*, 99; Adams, "Cosmology," 133.

51 Barnard, *Mysticism*, 95. For example, 1 Peter 3:21 uses ἀντίτυπα in a temporal, not a Platonic sense. For Hebrews using ἀντίτυπα in a typological rather than an ontological sense, see Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 114–15.

52 Esp. Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 112–13. Also, Mackie, *Eschatology*, 120; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 166; Adams, "Cosmology," 133; Barnard, *Mysticism*, 95.

53 Koester, *Hebrews*, 99; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 115; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 166; Eric F. Mason, "'Sit at My Right Hand': Enthronement and the Heavenly Sanctuary in Hebrews," in *A Teacher for All Generations*, ed. Eric F. Mason et al., JSJSup 2/153 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 914. E.g., esp. Plato, *Tim*. 29B (cf. 48E–49 A); *Republic* 7.515–17; Philo, *Abraham*, 3. Gäbel notes a particularly apt parallel in Plato, *Crat*. 439 A, where εἶναι εἰκόνας τῶν πραγμάτων is quite similar to Hebrews's αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν πραγμάτων. Plato is describing how names are the images of the things (εἰκόνας τῶν πραγμάτων), using εἰκών to identify the lower form that imitates the higher form (πραγμάτων). In contrast, Hebrews uses εἰκών in the similar construction to identify the higher form in relation to the πραγμάτων. We should also note that, because Philo develops a three-level philosophy, he, at times, uses the term εἰκών to refer to the noetic realm. Philo argues that the Logos is the image of God (εἰκόνα θεοῦ) from which humans are shaped, so that humans are "an image of an image [εἰκὼν εἰκόνος]" (*Creation* 25). In similar fashion, the entire creation can be viewed as a copy of the copy—i.e., an image of the divine archtype (μίμημα θείας εἰκόνος; *Creation* 25). Thus, while Philo at times employs εἰκών to iden-

Gregory Sterling argues that Hebrews fits within a tradition of Hellenistic Jewish exegetes (Philo and *Wisdom of Solomon*) who interpreted Exod 25:40 in a Platonic way.[54] Philo and Hebrews both cite Exod 25:40, where Moses is shown the pattern of the temple. Philo uses Exod 25:9, 40 to argue for a distinction between "the noetic cosmos and the sense-perceptible cosmos."[55] The pattern that Moses saw was the noetic world of incorporeal ideas, which is not perceivable by the senses but can only be discerned by the mind. Hebrews, however, does not fit in such a tradition of interpretation, because it does not use Exod 25:40 to support a Platonic worldview. The author clearly does not identify the heavenly sanctuary with a Platonic understanding of heaven as the noetic realm because the noetic realm is "without transient events and is unchanging" (*QE* 2.91).[56] It is not a world where a person can enter, become a high priest, offer a sacrifice, inaugurate a new covenant, and sit on a throne, all of which occur in the heavenly sanctuary in Hebrews.[57] Heaven as a place where things can happen is consistent with apocalyptic (esp. mystical) texts but not with a Platonic conception of a world of ideas. Hebrews, therefore, uses Exod 25:40 in a way very different from Philo. Whereas Philo is interested in establishing a distinction between the sense-perceptible and the noetic world, Hebrews is interested in the cultic significance of the heavenly sanctuary.[58] Further, the author of Hebrews may have intentionally chosen to cite Exod 25:40 because it has less Platonic terminology than Exod 25:9. Even though Exod 25:9 seems more fitting in the context of 8:5 (see below, p. 109) and the author borrows the word πάντα from Exod 25:9 (placing it in the citation of Exod 25:40), the author of Hebrews does not cite Exod 25:9, choosing instead Exod 25:40. This seemingly odd choice has led some scholars to argue that the author intentionally avoids citing Exod 25:9 because it includes the Platonic *terminus technicus* παράδειγμα.[59] The author, instead, opts

tify the noetic realm, εἰκών is still the lower form in the hierarchical comparison. "God is the Pattern [παράδειγμα] of the Image [τῆς εἰκόνος]," but then the "Image [εἰκὼν] becomes the pattern [παράδειγμα] of other beings" (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.96; cf. *Dreams* 1.75, 79). In the παράδειγμα-εἰκών comparison, the εἰκών is the lower form (in contrast to Hebrews).

54 Sterling, "Ontology," 199 – 204.

55 Ibid., 200.

56 As noted in p. 52 n. 4, Philo does describe the heavenly tabernacle as being occupied by priests who are immortal beings (*Dreams* 1.34) or angels (*Spec. Laws* 1.66), and the high priest is the Logos (*Dreams* 1.215; *Flight* 108 – 10, 118). Still, these are beings or things and are not events that change the noetic realm.

57 Buchanan, *Hebrews*, 134; Hurst, *Background*, 37; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 151 – 52, 166 – 67; Barnard, *Mysticism*, 97 – 98.

58 Esp. Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 120 – 27; Barnard, *Mysticism*, 97; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 361 – 62.

59 See below, p. 109 n. 131.

for the less Platonic Exod 25:40, thereby avoiding Platonic *termini technici* like ἰδέα, παράδειγμα, or μίμημα for the more generic τύπος.[60]

Sterling identifies one other Hellenistic Jewish exegetical tradition that he suggests Hebrews follows. Just as Philo and Josephus described the entire cosmos as a sanctuary with the Holy Place representing the transient, created world and the inner room representing the heavenly, noetic realm, so, Sterling contends, Heb 9:1–10 identifies the first tent (outer sanctuary) with the earthly realm and the second tent (inner sanctuary) with the heavenly realm.[61] However, such a cosmological interpretation of Heb 9:1–10 is unlikely. Hebrews 9:1–10 describes the inability of the earthly sanctuary to provide access to the divine presence (see ch. 5). The earthly sanctuary exemplifies the inability to enter the earthly Holy of Holies, where God's presence was provisionally present. The lack of access in 9:1–10 anticipates the contrast with Christ's entry into the heavenly Holy of Holies where God is always present (9:11–14). With this interpretation of Heb 9:1–10, the earthly and heavenly sanctuaries remain distinct. The earthly sanctuary does not merge with the heavenly sanctuary, synecdochically identifying the whole earth with the outer tent in contrast to the heavens as the inner tent. Further, no aspect of Heb 9:1–10 intimates an allegorical interpretation of the furniture to represent aspects of the cosmos. Lastly, when describing "the greater and more perfect tabernacle," Hebrews states that it is "not of this creation" (9:11), thereby disassociating any part of the heavenly sanctuary from the earthly realm and, in so doing, making a cosmological interpretation

60 Sterling also appeals to the *Nachleben* of the Hellenistic Jewish exegetical traditions, noting that "Pseudo-Justin, Origen, and Eusebius all link Exodus 25:40 with Platonic forms" ("Ontology," 208; similarly Spicq, *Hébreux*, 1:73; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 223; cf. Cody who attributes the axiological perspective to a "basic dualism, Platonic in origin" [*Heavenly Sanctuary*, 35–36, 78–79, 151, here 79]). While the patristic fathers were clearly influenced by the Hellenistic milieu, these later writers cannot determine Hebrews's conceptual background (Barnard, *Mysticism*, 103).

61 Sterling, "Ontology," 196–97, 202–4; cf. Schenck, *Cosmology*, 151–52. Sterling suggests that the descriptions of the furniture in each realm is the key to this connection. Koester bolsters this argument by highlighting the use of σάρξ and συνείδησις in 9:9–10. He suggests that Hebrews identifies the outer room as the realm of the σάρξ and the inner room as the realm of the συνείδησις. He considers this distinction to be similar to Philo's distinction between the sense perceptible and the incorporeal: "The author acknowledges that the parts of the tabernacle correspond to the parts of the universe and to the realms of flesh and conscience, as in the cosmological interpretation" (*Dwelling*, 182). However, this neat dualism is shattered if one considers Christ to ascend to the heavenly Holy of Holies while incarnate. For a discussion of σάρξ and συνείδησις in this passage, see pp. 189–96.

unlikely.[62] Thus, Hebrews's heavenly sanctuary does not appear to fit this exegetical tradition of Hellenistic Judaism either.

Two final considerations undermine the cosmological, Platonic understanding of Hebrews's heavenly sanctuary. First, in a Platonic or Philonic cosmology, "every sense-perceptible likeness has (as) its origin an intelligible pattern in nature"; however, Hebrews only identifies the tabernacle as having a heavenly counterpart.[63] Second, the author does not describe the heavenly sanctuary as the place of eternal ideas, but he discusses the heavenly sanctuary as the throne room of God.[64]

Rather than adopting the "sanctuary *as* cosmos" position associated with Hellenistic Judaism, it is better to adopt the "sanctuary *in* heaven" understanding of apocalyptic literature.[65] Texts in the apocalyptic tradition, such as *1 En.* 14:8–25, 90:28–29, *2 Bar.* 4:2–7, *T. Levi* 3:1–8, 5:1, *Sib. Or.* 5:423–27, and *ShirShabb*, describe a sanctuary *in* heaven. The notion of a heavenly sanctuary is not a distinctively Hellenistic or Platonic idea but is an idea found pervasively in Hebrew thought and literature due largely to Exod 25:9, 40.[66] An apocalyptic background is particularly fitting for Hebrews because it contains a temporal element that can sustain new events. Therefore, the heavenly sanctuary is not simply characterized by the spatial distinction between heaven and earth, but it possesses a temporal aspect as well, which is conducive to Hebrews's description of Jesus entering the heavenly sanctuary, performing a cultic act, and sitting on the throne.[67]

Among those who adopt an apocalyptic background for Hebrews's heavenly sanctuary, a shift has occurred resulting in two distinct proposals regarding the apocalyptic literature that forms the conceptual background of the heavenly sanctuary. The first apocalyptic proposals attempted to emphasize the temporal aspect of the heavenly sanctuary so as to downplay the—perceived to be—Hellenistic, vertical (heaven/earth) aspect. C. K. Barrett and L. D. Hurst, then, appealed

62 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 222–23.

63 Williamson, *Philo and Hebrews*, 565–67; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 408; Adams, "Cosmology," 133.

64 Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 354.

65 For those who support a general apocalyptic understanding, see Barrett, "Eschatology," esp. 393; Hurst, *Background*, 42; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:ciii–cxii; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 408; Laansma, "Cosmology," esp. 137; Mason, "Sit," 901–16; cf. Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 9–46, esp. 35–36; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 126–27.

66 Hurst, *Background*, 21–22.

67 Barrett, "Eschatology," 374–76; Hurst, *Background*, 37; MacLeod, "Cleansing Tabernacle," 63; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 151–52, 166–67; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 161; Barnard, *Mysticism*, 97–98; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 354.

to texts such as *2 Bar.* 4:2–7, 32:4, *4 Ezra* 7:26, 8:52, 13:36, and *1 En.* 90:28–29, which speak of a new sanctuary and a new Jerusalem that will be part of the eschatological, messianic kingdom.[68] We will identify this proposal as the *eschatological* temple.

For Barrett, the heavenly sanctuary is the ideal sanctuary preserved "in heaven primarily in order that it may be manifested on earth."[69] Hurst notes that *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra* describe a pre-existent temple and city that descend to earth at the eschaton, but then he highlights *1 En.* 90:28–29, which describes a heavenly city and temple that is built at the end of the age. He understands Hebrews's heavenly tabernacle in this latter sense.[70] The heavenly sanctuary, for Hurst, was conceived in the mind of God prior to the eschaton and, for this reason, could still be an archetype for the earthly sanctuary; however, it was not until the end of the age that God manifested the heavenly sanctuary.[71] For both Barrett and Hurst, the decisive eschatological event has occurred in the person and work of Jesus Christ. Therefore, the heavenly sanctuary of Hebrews is the heavenly sanctuary of the messianic age.[72]

There are significant difficulties for the eschatological temple proposal. In the Second Temple literature on which this position is based, the heavenly sanctuary descends or is made manifest *on earth.* It is then occupied by human levitical priests who restore the proper administration of the levitical cult. The function of the temple in these texts is to give hope for a future, ideally performed cult on earth. It is, in a sense, a nostalgic hope of returning to the cult practice

68 Barrett, "Eschatology," 363–93; Hurst, *Background*, 21–41.

69 Barrett, "Eschatology," 389.

70 Hurst, *Background*, 31–32, 38–41. Barrett states that "the heavenly tabernacle and its ministrations are from one point of view eternal archetypes, from another, they are eschatological events" ("Eschatology," 385). Hurst interprets Barrett in a way consistent with his own position, saying that the heavenly tabernacle—in the Hellenistic conception—existed metaphysically from all eternity, but it was not manifested until the end of time.

71 Hurst, *Background*, 31–41. Hurst acknowledges that some apocalyptic texts (*2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra*) describe a pre-existent sanctuary that eventually descends to earth. Still, he contends based on four arguments that the heavenly sanctuary in Hebrews is not "created" until the end of the age: (1) the tabernacle and sacrifice must be considered together, and the sacrifice happened at the end of the age; (2) 8:2 mentions the moment when the heavenly tabernacle was "pitched" (ἔπηξεν) or created by God; (3) Christ entered the heavenly sanctuary at a given moment (9:11); and (4) 9:23 speaks of the inauguration of the tabernacle. Jody Barnard contests Hurst's assertion that the heavenly sanctuary was not "created" until the end of the age. Most damaging to Hurst's position is that *1 En.* 14:8–16 presumes the existence of a heavenly sanctuary before it is manifested at the end of the age in *1 En.* 90:28–29 (Barnard, *Mysticism*, 14–15).

72 Barrett, "Eschatology," 389.

of a bygone era. The nation of Israel will shake off its oppressors, and Jerusalem and the temple will be restored in all its glory.

This picture, however, does not fit Hebrews for three reasons. First, Hebrews depicts a heavenly sanctuary that remains *in heaven*. To accommodate this difficulty, Hurst makes an awkward adjustment to the eschatological temple tradition. He argues that, while Hebrews is consistent with this apocalyptic tradition, "for which there is a future heavenly Jerusalem and sanctuary to be manifested on earth," at the same time, "according to *Auctor*, Christ has already entered this shrine, but in some sense it is yet to appear in the course of human affairs."[73] Hurst promotes, therefore, a kind of "already-not yet" eschatological temple, which ultimately does not cohere with the core characteristic of the eschatological temple—it manifests itself *on earth* at the eschaton. Second, sacrifice in the eschatological temple is a return to the properly performed levitical cult, whereas sacrifice in Hebrews's heavenly sanctuary is the ideal sacrifice, not a repetition of the old. Third, the eschatological temple is either vacant or does not exist until it descends to earth. It is not filled with heavenly beings, and it is not the place of God's throne room as it is in Hebrews.[74]

While each proposal will make adjustments to the conceptual background based on the distinctive nature of the Christ-event, one ought to seek the conceptual background that provides the most points of continuity. More recent apocalyptic proposals have focused more on the mystical apocalyptic tradition.[75]

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73 Lincoln D. Hurst, "Eschatology and 'Platonism' in the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *SBLSP* 23 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1984), 74.

74 Hurst suggests that the apocalyptic authors merged the idea of the eschatological sanctuary and throne room sanctuary (*Background*, 30). However, there is no application of this proposed merging in Hurst's argument, and these two ideas appear to be used distinctly in apocalyptic literature.

75 Timo Eskola, *Messiah and the Throne: Jewish Merkabah Mysticism and Early Christian Exaltation Discourse*, WUNT 2/142 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), esp. 109 – 11, 203; Christopher Rowland and Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones, *The Mystery of God: Early Jewish Mysticism and the New Testament*, CRINT/JTECL 12 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 170 – 71; Barnard, *Mysticism*; Mackie, "Heavenly Sanctuary Mysticism," 77 – 117; Mackie, "Mystical Motifs," 88 – 104; cf. Calaway, *Sabbath and Sanctuary*, 25 – 31, 98 – 138, 168 – 77, 182 – 89; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 203 – 4 esp. n. 140; Torleif Elgvin, "From the Earthly to the Heavenly Temple: Lines from the Bible and Qumran to Hebrews and Revelation," in *The World of Jesus and the Early Church*, ed. Craig A. Evans (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2011), esp. 25 – 30. For others who suggest some of these texts as a possible background for Hebrews, see Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 51 – 55; MacRae, "Heavenly Temple," 179 – 99, esp. 183; Löhr, "Thronversammlung," 185 – 205; Hofius, "Gemeinschaft mit den Engeln," 172 – 96; Chazon, "Function of Prayer"; Schiffman, "Temple, Sacrifice and Priesthood," 167 – 68; Mason, "Hebrews and DSS," 460 – 62; Mason, "Sit," 902 – 4; contra Koester, *Dwelling*, 172 – 73; Sterling, "Ontology," 207.

This tradition emphasizes the vertical aspect of the heavenly sanctuary while still locating its conceptual background squarely in Jewish apocalyptic literature.[76] The texts representative of the mystical apocalyptic tradition are those addressed in ch. 3 such as *1 En.* 14:8–25, *T. Levi* 3:1–8, and *ShirShabb*, and one could identify this tradition with the "'pre-*Merkabah*' tendencies *within* Jewish apocalyptic" that Hurst thought influenced Hebrews.[77] Several considerations make the mystical apocalyptic tradition much more consistent with Hebrews's conception of the heavenly sanctuary.

First, the heavenly sanctuary in the early mystical tradition is a sanctuary *in heaven* (not one whose purpose is to be manifested on earth as in the eschatological temple proposal). The sanctuary is seen when Enoch or Levi ascend to the heavens (*1 Enoch*; *Testament of Levi*) or when worship merges believers with the angelic liturgy (*ShirShabb*).[78] This characteristic is consistent with Hebrews, which places the heavenly sanctuary unequivocally in the heavenly realm.

Second, a trademark of the heavenly sanctuary in the early mystical tradition is that it is also the throne room of God (*1 En.* 14:20; *T. Levi* 3:4–6; 5:1; 4Q403 1 ii 10–15; 4Q405 20 ii–21–22 6–8). This characteristic is a significant connection to Hebrews, which also identifies the heavenly sanctuary as the throne room of God. Jesus enters the heavenly sanctuary, offers his sacrifice for purification, and then sits "at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in heaven" (8:1; cf. 1:3; 10:12; 12:2). The heavenly sanctuary, then, is the location of the two key christological activities—enthronement (esp. 1:5–13; 2:12–13) and sacrifice (esp. Heb 8:1–10:18).[79]

Third, the early mystical texts describe angels as priests, and the *Testament of Levi* speaks of the "angels of the presence of the Lord" (οἱ ἄγγελοί τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου) who minister (οἱ λειτουργοῦντες) before the Lord (*T. Levi* 3:5; cf. 2:10). Hebrews makes clear that the high priest of the heavenly sanctuary is

76 Because the early mystical tradition establishes a vertical element in apocalyptic literature, this tradition helpfully encapsulates both the horizontal and vertical elements that other authors ascribe to two competing backgrounds—eschatological/apocalyptic and Platonic. The early Jewish mystical tradition, therefore, could end proposals concerning how distinct and competing traditions come together in Hebrews.

77 Hurst, *Background*, 85.

78 Calaway highlights a number of distinctive connections between the heavenly sanctuary in *ShirShabb* and Hebrews. In particular, the *ShirShabb* (like Hebrews) identify the heavenly sanctuary as a *tabernacle* and intersect themes of Sabbath and sanctuary (*Sabbath and Sanctuary*, esp. 126–27, 137–38).

79 Eskola, *Messiah and Throne*, 209–11, 261; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 166; Mackie, "Mystical Motifs," 88–104; Mason, "Sit," esp. 909–11. For a discussion of the throne in merkabah traditions, see Williamson, "Background," 233–34.

not an angel but is Jesus Christ the human being, who is above the angels (1:4–14; 2:1–18). However, Hebrews does have a heavenly being (Jesus) function as priest[80] and describes the angels as λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα (1:14; cf. 1:7; 8:1).[81]

Fourth, the early mystical texts describe a heavenly cult—i.e., sacrifice occurring in the heavenly sanctuary. This sacrifice is like the levitical sacrifice, but it is not its equivalent. Rather, the heavenly cult is the ideal cult. Likewise, Hebrews describes Jesus as entering the heavenly sanctuary and offering himself as a sacrifice (esp. 9:11–14, 25; 10:12), and his sacrifice is the ideal sacrifice.[82]

Fifth, in the early mystical texts, the sanctuary is the only heavenly counterpart to an earthly reality (as opposed to heavenly ideals for every part of the cosmos), which is consistent with Hebrews's discussion of the heavenly sanctuary.

Sixth, ascent structures were important in early mystical texts, and Hebrews describes both the ascent of Jesus as well as the potential ascent of believers, who are now able to enter the heavenly sanctuary and have access to God and his throne (4:16; 10:19–22).[83] Later merkabah texts placed great stress on the journey through the heavens, behind the heavenly curtain, and before the throne of God.[84]

Thus, we will proceed with the supposition that the early mystical, apocalyptic texts establish a conceptual background for Hebrews's conception of the heavenly sanctuary.[85] The author does not adopt this conceptual background

80 Eskola, *Messiah and Throne*, 262–64.

81 Moffitt, *Atonement*, 204; Barnard, *Mysticism*, 123; cf. Williamson, "Background," 233; Hurst, *Background*, 83.

82 Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 52. Cody says that the description of a heavenly cult in *T. Levi* 3:4–6 is the closest example to Hebrews that we have. Cf. Williamson, "Background," 234.

83 Eskola, *Messiah and Throne*, 209–11, 267; Mackie, "Heavenly Sanctuary Mysticism," 88–92; Mackie, "Mystical Motifs," 102–3.

84 Williamson, "Background," 233–34; Hurst, *Background*, 83.

85 Reading Hebrews against the mystical, apocalyptic background does not depend on the author or his audience being familiar with the particular texts addressed in ch. 3. Rather, the apocalyptic texts are formal analogues to Hebrews. What is particularly significant about the texts addressed in ch. 3 is that they never have to argue for or explain the heavenly sanctuary. Instead, they use the heavenly sanctuary and the understanding that they share with their audience to make their arguments. Thus, knowledge of the heavenly sanctuary does not depend on having read these apocalyptic texts. Instead, the apocalyptic texts stand as instances where notions of the heavenly sanctuary that were persistent in the lives of numerous Jewish communities were articulated. Therefore, while it is possible that the author and portions of his audience were familiar with some of the mystical apocalyptic texts discussed in ch. 3, such direct interaction with those texts would not have been necessary for the author to adopt the mystical, apocalyptic background when communicating with his audience (cf. Calaway, *Sabbath and Sanctuary*, 186).

without some modifications in light of the Christ-event, but these texts do establish the closest parallels to Hebrews's understanding of a heavenly sanctuary. In what follows, we will examine the texts in Hebrews that relate to the heavenly sanctuary and its cult. In the process, we will show how the mystical, apocalyptic conception can be found in Hebrews as opposed to a Platonic reading, and we will determine how Hebrews appropriates this tradition.

4.3 Texts

4.3.1 Hebrews 1:3

Hebrews 1:3 anticipates the discussion of Christ's new covenant sacrifice and connects that sacrifice to the heavenly sanctuary through a reference to Ps 110:1.[86] The author writes, "When he had made purification for sins [καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος], he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high [ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς]." Scholars unanimously argue that the aorist participle ποιησάμενος functions antecedently so that Christ's sacrifice, by means of which he made purification of sins, occurred before Jesus sat down at the right hand of God.[87] What is unclear in this passage is where the purification of sins takes place. While the session of Christ clearly takes place in the heavenly throne room (which is also the heavenly sanctuary), the purification of sins could have taken place at any time before that—i.e., pre- or post-ascension. Several scholars have argued that the purification of sins, therefore, occurs on earth in Christ's state of humiliation, which is then followed by his ascension and enthronement.[88] While it is not clear in this passage, later passages will suggest that, following the model of Yom Kippur, the purification of sins culminates in the heavenly sanctuary so that Christ finalizes the purification of sins in the heavenly Holy of Holies and then sits on the throne, which is immediately present after the act of purification. Such an interpretation, which becomes evident later in Hebrews, is consistent with Heb 1:3 and the use of the antecedent, aorist participle and would explain why the author brings Christ's sacrifice and exaltation together in this passage.

86 For the connection to Ps 110:1, see, e.g., Attridge, *Hebrews*, 46; Koester, *Hebrews*, 188.
87 Bruce, *Hebrews: Apology*, 41–42; Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 31; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 47; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:15; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 149; Koester, *Hebrews*, 188; Stökl ben Ezra, *Yom Kippur*, 189; Cortez, "Most Holy Place," 528; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 58.
88 Bruce, *Hebrews: Apology*, 41–42; Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 31; Stökl ben Ezra, *Yom Kippur*, 189; Cortez, "Most Holy Place," 528.

4.3.2 Hebrews 4:14–16

In the midst of an exhortative section, Hebrews 4:14–16 alludes to aspects of the heavenly sanctuary that the author presumes his audience understands. The basis of the exhortation to "let us hold firmly to the faith we profess" is that "we have a great high priest who has gone through the heavens." The author here speaks of Jesus's ascension, by which he, as high priest, enters the heavenly sanctuary/throne room.[89] The identity of the heavens (οὐρανοί), however, is debated. On the one hand, the οὐρανοί could be the physical or earthly heavens so that διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς refers to Jesus's upward movement through the physical heavens at his ascension. On the other hand, the οὐρανοί could be the transcendent heavens so that διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς refers to Jesus's movement through several levels of heaven.[90] Such a plurality of heavens is common in apocalyptic literature, especially ascent literature, which would be consistent with Jesus's ascent to heaven for enthronement.[91] This latter understanding is preferable, because it fits Hebrews's mystical, apocalyptic background and because it allows for a consistent understanding of the plural οὐρανοί in the related texts of Heb 7:26 and 8:1. Thus, Jesus ascended through several levels of the transcendent heavens before reaching the throne of God in the heavenly sanctuary.

After noting Jesus's ability as high priest to sympathize with human weakness, Hebrews exhorts his readers in 4:16: "Let us then approach the throne of grace with confidence." Since the heavenly throne room and the heavenly sanctuary are combined, the throne of God can also be identified with the ark of the covenant. This identification is natural because the tabernacle and temple were the dwelling of God on earth, and God dwelled above the cherubim on the ark (Exod 25:17–22; 2 Kgs 19:15; Pss 11:4; 80:1; 99:1; Isa 6:1).[92] Thus, believers are called to approach God's throne,[93] which is the equivalent of the ark in the heavenly Holy of Holies.

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89 Hofius, *Vorhang*, 67–69; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 1:245; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 93.

90 Luck, "Himmlisches Geschehen," 207; Otto Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, 12/6 ed., KEK 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 203–5; David Peterson, *Hebrews and Perfection: An Examination of the Concept of Perfection in the "Epistle to the Hebrews,"* SNTSMS 47 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 76; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 223 n. 89; Barnard, *Mysticism*, 115–16.

91 See *1 En.* 14:8–25; *2 En.* 3–22; *Apoc Ab.* 15–20; *ALD* 4:4–6; *T. Levi* 2–5.

92 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 142; Koester, *Hebrews*, 284; Eskola, *Messiah and Throne*, 253.

93 While many scholars argue that approaching the throne of grace is a reference to prayer (e.g., Peterson, *Perfection*, 79; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:115, 123; John M. Scholer, *Proleptic Priests: Priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, JSNTSup 49 [Sheffield: JSOT, 1991], 108; Koester, *He-*

4.3.3 Hebrews 6:19 – 20

Hebrews 6:19 – 20 also speaks of Jesus's ascension into heaven and connects this reality to the hope believers have to be able to enter the presence of God. The author speaks of a hope (i. e., Jesus) who "enters the inner shrine behind the curtain" (εἰς τὸ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος),[94] which is another way of referring to Jesus's entry into the heavenly Holy of Holies. Therefore, the καταπέτασμα is the curtain that divides the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies.[95] A similar phrase is present in the description of the Day of Atonement in Leviticus 16, where going into the Holy of Holies before the mercy seat is described with the phrase εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος (16:2; cf. 16:12, 15).[96]

The function of this curtain depends on the conceptual background behind Hebrews. Some scholars, who adopt a Gnostic or Platonic background, consider the curtain to be the boundary between earth and heaven, between the material, created world and the transcendent, spiritual world.[97] However, it seems more likely that the curtain is within the heavenly realm and not that which separates earth from heaven.[98] The existence of a curtain within a heavenly sanctuary is found in the *ShirShabb* (4Q405 15 ii–16 3), and the idea of journeying through the heavens and behind the curtain was a common theme in Jewish mystical writings.[99] In addition, a curtain in the heavenly sanctuary would be consistent with the idea that Jesus passed through multiple heavens. The curtain, then,

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brews, 284; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 184 – 85), Jody Barnard argues—based on the connection between Hebrews and early mystical texts—for an actual, mystical ascent by believers (Barnard, *Mysticism*, 184 – 87).

94 Scholars predominantly understand εἰσερχομένην to modify ἥν, whose antecedent is ἐλπίδος, so that the hope enters (Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 116; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:153 – 54; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 345; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 241 – 42; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 290 n. 21). However, some scholars think that εἰσερχομένην modifies *anchor* (ἄγκυραν) (Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:164 – 65; Käsemann, *Wandernde Gottesvolk*, 147 n. 3; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 367 esp n. 38).

95 Michel, *Hebräer*, 367 n. 40; Hofius, *Vorhang*, 84 – 94; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 184 – 85; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:154; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 367; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 347; Koester, *Hebrews*, 163 – 64; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 1:384; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 227; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 241; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 291.

96 Hofius, *Vorhang*, 88; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 1:384; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 175; Mayjee Philip, *Leviticus in Hebrews: A Transtextual Analysis of the Tabernacle Theme in the Letter to the Hebrews* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2011), 69.

97 Käsemann, *Wandernde Gottesvolk*, 145; Koester, *Dwelling*, 163 – 64; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 176.

98 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 184 – 85.

99 Esp. Barnard, *Mysticism*, 116; also Hofius, *Vorhang*, esp. 95 – 96; Williamson, "Background," 233 – 34; Hurst, *Background*, 83; Löhr, "Thronversammlung," 193.

would either occur in a heavenly sanctuary that exists in the highest heaven or separate the highest heaven (the Holy of Holies) from the lower heavens (the Holy Place).[100]

Jesus, therefore, enters the heavenly realm, passes through multiple heavens, and proceeds through the curtain into the heavenly Holy of Holies. Since Jesus is a forerunner (πρόδρομος; 6:20), believers also have the hope of entering the heavenly Holy of Holies, because Christ has opened a new way through the καταπέτασμα so that it no longer functions as a barrier.[101]

4.3.4 Hebrews 7:26

Similar to the description in 4:14, Heb 7:26 connects Christ's exaltation into the heavenly realm with his office as high priest. Christ is the high priest who is "exalted above the heavens" (ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν γενόμενος). In keeping with 4:14, the plural οὐρανοί likely represents the levels of heaven that Christ has been exalted above, having been exalted to the highest heaven, to the heavenly Holy of Holies.

4.3.5 Hebrews 8:1–6

In Hebrews 8:1–6, the author transitions from talking about the priesthood of Jesus (4:13–5:10; 7:1–28) to talking about his cultic location and activity. Hebrews 8:1 states that the reader has now reached the main (κεφάλαιον) point: "We have such a high priest, one who is seated at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens, a minister in the sanctuary and the true tent that the Lord, and not any mortal, has set up" (8:1–2). This statement begins with an identification of Jesus as high priest (ἀρχιερέα) followed by an allusion to Ps 110:1. The author once again (cf. 4:14; 7:26) brings the themes of priesthood and heavenly session together,[102] and this connection may have been for the very purpose of locating Christ's priesthood and cultic activity in the heavenly

100 This latter position is represented by Michel, *Hebräer*, 203–5.

101 Schenck argues that the καταπέτασμα cannot exist in heaven. Since Christ's work allows believers access to the heavenly sanctuary, there can be no curtain that functions as a barrier (*Cosmology*, 176).

102 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:233–34; David M. Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand: Psalm 110 in Early Christianity*, SBLMS 18 (Nashville: Abingdon, 1973), esp. 87, 151; Koester, *Hebrews*, 375; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:205; Eskola, *Messiah and Throne*, 207, 258–59; Mason, "Sit," 909.

realm.[103] This passage again mentions the throne of God, here denoted as the "throne of the Majesty" (cf. 1:3; 10:12; 12:2). As noted above, the throne of God is a standard feature of heavenly sanctuaries in apocalyptic literature,[104] and the close proximity of the throne of God (v. 1) to the heavenly sanctuary (v. 2) in the author's argument affirms an identification of these two locations. Further, the identification of this throne as ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς is consistent with the previous uses of the plural οὐρανοί. Jesus passes through the οὐρανοί (4:14), is exalted above the οὐρανοί (7:26), and now here is enthroned in the οὐρανοί. Enthronement in the οὐρανοί not only locates Jesus somewhere within the multiple heavens, but the very fact of being enthroned brings with it the understanding that Jesus is enthroned in the highest heaven.

Having connected Jesus's priesthood to the heavenly realm, the author proceeds to explain this relationship. Jesus is identified as a λειτουργός in v. 2, which can refer generally to someone who serves or ministers[105] or can refer specifically to a person who performs the priestly ministries.[106] Due to the identification of Jesus as high priest in the previous verse and the stated location of the ministry (the sanctuary and true tent), λειτουργός is certainly used in a priestly sense.[107]

The location where Christ performs his priesthood is the heavenly sanctuary, which is unequivocally expressed by identifying the sanctuary and tent as that which is true (ἀληθινή) and is erected by God and not humanity (8:2). The identification of the heavenly sanctuary as ἀληθινή (true) does not mean that the earthly sanctuary was false, but it identifies the heavenly sanctuary as abiding, original, and ideal as opposed to the temporary earthly sanctuary, which is identified in v. 5 as a sketch (ὑπόδειγμα) and shadow (σκιά).[108] In addition, the identification of the sanctuary as pitched by God designates this sanctuary as not of this creation, as located in the heavenly realm (cf. 9:11, 24).

While v. 2 is clearly speaking of a heavenly sanctuary, the collocation τῶν ἁγίων ... καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς, by which the author designates the location where Christ is a λειτουργός, has raised questions concerning the structure of the heav-

103 Eskola, *Messiah and Throne*, 258.

104 Ibid., 264; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 166; Mackie, "Mystical Motifs," 90–92.

105 2 Sam 13:18; 1 Kgs 10:5; 2 Kgs 4:43; 6:15; 2 Chron 9:4; Rom 15:16; Phil 2:25.

106 Ezra 7:24; Isa 61:6; 2 Esd 20:40; Sir 7.30; *Let. Arist.* 95; *T. Levi* 2:10; 4:2; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.135; *Dreams* 2.231.

107 E.g., Weiss, *Hebräer*, 432; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 352. Notably, this term is also used to describe the angels in 1:7 (λειτουργούς in a citation of LXX Ps 103:4) and 1:14 (λειτουργικά).

108 Bultmann, "ἀλήθεια, κτλ," *TDNT* 1:232–50; Peterson, *Perfection*, 131; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:205; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 289; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 356.

enly sanctuary. The central issue is whether τῶν ἁγίων and τῆς σκηνῆς denote different realities or the same thing.

Some scholars argue that τῶν ἁγίων and τῆς σκηνῆς refer to the same thing so that either the two words form a hendiadys or the καί between them functions epexegetically.[109] In this way, τῶν ἁγίων (sanctuary) and τῆς σκηνῆς (tent or tabernacle) are two ways of referring to the same reality—i.e., the heavenly sanctuary or heavenly Holy of Holies. Scholars have offered four main arguments for this position. First, the phrase containing τῶν ἁγίων and τῆς σκηνῆς is followed by a relative clause introduced by the singular relative pronoun ἥν. The occasion of this pronoun in the singular suggests that the author is referring to a single reality and not to two different things.[110] Second, the author frequently pairs synonyms: sketch and shadow (8:5), transgression and disobedience (2:2), glory and honor (2:9), grace and mercy (4:16), gifts and sacrifices (5:1; 8:3), and prayers and supplications (5:7). Thus, it is somewhat expected that these paired words would be equivalents.[111] Third, just like the LXX, Hebrews uses temple and sanctuary language in varied and flexible ways. After the usage of τῶν ἁγίων in 8:2, Hebrews uses the singular ἅγιον to refer to the entire earthly tabernacle (9:1), ἅγια to identify the Holy Place (9:2), ἅγια ἁγίων to identify the Holy of Holies (9:3), and τῶν ἁγίων and τὰ ἅγια to speak of the Holy of Holies (9:8, 25; 13:11). Since there is no consistency in the usage of the singular or plural to refer to the earthly realities of the whole tabernacle, the Holy Place, or the Holy of Holies, the usage of τῶν ἁγίων and τὰ ἅγια to refer to the place where Jesus enters (8:2; 9:12, 24; 10:19) does not denote that space as the Holy of Holies in contrast to the Holy Place, but it simply identifies that location as a sanctuary. Similarly, while Hebrews typically uses σκηνή to refer to the tabernacle as a whole, it also uses σκηνή to refer to the earthly Holy Place (9:2) and Holy of Holies (9:3). Thus, one cannot expect Hebrews to use τῶν ἁγίων and τῆς σκηνῆς in 8:2 in a strict sense to denote the Holy of Holies (τὰ ἅγια) in contrast to the tabernacle as a whole (σκηνή). Rather, Hebrews's flexible use of this language suggests that τῶν ἁγίων and τῆς σκηνῆς refer generally to the same reality of the heavenly sanctuary.[112] Fourth, scholars in this position critique the alternate

109 Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 105; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:234; Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 133; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 289; Peterson, *Perfection*, 130–31; Herbert Braun, *An die Hebräer*, HNT 14 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984), 228; Koester, *Dwelling*, 155–56; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:200–201; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 432–33; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 402; Koester, *Hebrews*, 376; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 288 esp n. 10; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 354.

110 Peterson, *Perfection*, 131; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:200–201; Koester, *Hebrews*, 376.

111 Koester, *Hebrews*, 376; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 355.

112 Koester, *Dwelling*, 156.

view (described below), which posits a heavenly sanctuary that contains both a Holy Place and a Holy of Holies, because they contend that there is no purpose for an outer room (Holy Place) in the heavenly sanctuary. Hebrews 9:8 characterizes the outer room as a demonstrable sign of the lack of access to the divine presence. Such a negatively conceived space that functions as a barrier to God is thought incomprehensible for the heavenly sanctuary.[113] The end result of this position, therefore, is that, since the heavenly sanctuary does not contain two rooms, the sanctuary (τὰ ἅγια) fills the entire tabernacle (σκηνή), thereby making the two fundamental equivalents.

Other scholars rightly contend that τῶν ἁγίων and τῆς σκηνῆς refer to different—although overlapping—realities. In this view, τῶν ἁγίων refers specifically to the Holy of Holies and τῆς σκηνῆς refers to the tabernacle as a whole. These two terms cannot be conflated, because the tabernacle contains both a Holy of Holies *and* a Holy Place. Thus, although Hebrews does not explicitly say that the heavenly tabernacle contains a Holy Place and a Holy of Holies, the use of both τῶν ἁγίων and τῆς σκηνῆς implies such a two-room tabernacle in heaven.[114] In this understanding, τῆς σκηνῆς is the sole antecedent of the singular relative pronoun ἣν, which is possible because the σκηνή as the whole tabernacle encompasses (but is not equivalent to) the Holy of Holies (τὰ ἅγια).[115] Several arguments support this position and make it more likely than the preceding position.

First, Hebrews uses the terms τὰ ἅγια and σκηνή consistently to refer to the Holy of Holies and the tabernacle as a whole, respectively.[116] The author uses the plural τὰ ἅγια for the earthly Holy of Holies in 9:8, 9:25, and 13:11, and Christ's entrance into τὰ ἅγια in 9:12, 24–25, based on the parallel to the Day of Atonement and the reference to going behind the curtain (6:19), is certainly the heavenly Holy of Holies. Similarly, there is consistent usage of σκηνή to refer to the earthly (8:5; 9:2; 13:10) and heavenly (9:11, 21) tabernacle as a whole. This consis-

113 Hughes, *Hebrews*, 218; Koester, *Dwelling*, 158–59; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 147, 172; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 354–55.

114 Helmut Koester, "'Outside the Camp': Hebrews 13.9–14," *HTR* 55 (1962): 309–10; Albert Vanhoye, "'Par la tente plus grande et plus parfait …' (He 9,11)," *Bib* 46 (1965): 4; Hofius, *Vorhang*, 57–73, here 59–60; Loader, *Sohn*, 163, 184; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:82–83; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 218, 223; Wolfgang Kraus, *Der Tod Jesu als Heiligtumsweihe: Eine Untersuchung zum Umfeld der Sühnevorstellung in Römer 3,25–26a*, WMANT 66 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1990), 242; Sterling, "Ontology," 194; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 165; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 223–24; Barnard, *Mysticism*, 93.

115 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 218 n. 21.

116 Hofius, *Vorhang*, 56–60; Loader, *Sohn*, 163; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 218; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:82–83; Barnard, *Mysticism*, 92–94.

tent usage only breaks down in 9:1–8 "where the author's careful precision with regard to the exact referent of these terms already suggests a contrast with his more typical usage."[117] The author knows that he is deviating from his typical usage of these terms and, therefore, is careful to modify each term as "first" or "second" or to identify certain usages of ἅγια with certain rooms. Thus, since the author does not designate τὰ ἅγια and σκηνή in 8:2 otherwise, they should be understood in keeping with his consistent usage of the terms as the Holy of Holies and the tabernacle as a whole.

Second, the correspondence between the heavenly and earthly sanctuaries suggests that, just as the earthly tabernacle has two rooms, so also the heavenly sanctuary does.[118] This argument is especially pertinent in the context of 8:1–6, since 8:5 speaks of the earthly sanctuary as a ὑπόδειγμα and σκιά of the heavenly so that *everything* (πάντα) on earth corresponds to the heavenly sanctuary. Therefore, since a two-room sanctuary was "a basic and unchanging component in all of ancient Israel's sanctuary structures,"[119] the audience would have understood the heavenly sanctuary to contain two rooms.

Third, the presence of an outer room or barrier in heaven is not as fundamental a problem as the first proposal presumes. The point of Hebrews is not to annihilate any and all barriers; rather, the point is to demonstrate how Christ has broken through the barriers to establish a way for believers to enter the divine presence (cf. 9:8; 10:18–19). Those who have been made perfect can now traverse the barriers and enter the presence of God. This access does not mean that a barrier such as a curtain does not exist, since access is not provided to everyone. Further, Hebrews speaks of a curtain in the heavenly sanctuary (6:19; 10:20) that corresponds to that in the earthly (9:3). A curtain in heaven is necessary for the patterning of Christ's activity after the Day of Atonement, and barriers in heaven are commonplace in apocalyptic literature.[120]

While the use of τὰ ἅγια and σκηνή imply a two-room heavenly sanctuary, the main contrast of 8:2 is not between two rooms but between the heavenly and earthly sanctuary,[121] and this heaven-earth distinction has direct implications for the location of Christ's priesthood and sacrifice. Hebrews 8:3 estab-

117 Barnard, *Mysticism*, 94.

118 Hofius, *Vorhang*, 57–58; Löhr, "Thronversammlung," 192; Laansma, "Cosmology," 137; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 224.

119 Barnard, *Mysticism*, 110–11.

120 Mackie, *Eschatology*, 165, 223 n. 15; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 223 n. 15. For barriers in heaven, see 2 Cor 12:2; *2 En.* 3–22; *T. Levi* 3:1–10; *3 Bar.* 11:1–14:2; 4Q405 15 ii–16 3. Also see arguments in Barnard, *Mysticism*, 111–12.

121 Koester, *Hebrews*, 376.

lishes a principle about high priests: "Every high priest is appointed to offer gifts and sacrifices [προσφέρειν δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας]." The office of high priest is directly connected to the priestly function of sacrifice, and this connection was established already in Heb 5:1.[122] Hebrews follows this principle with its implication for Jesus's high priesthood. Jesus also must "have something to offer [προσενέγκῃ]." While it is not stated here what Jesus offers, the author earlier noted in 7:27 that—in contrast to the earthly, levitical high priest who offers sacrifices (θυσίας ἀναφέρειν)—Jesus offered himself (ἑαυτὸν ἀνενέγκας).

Having stated that Jesus is a high priest and minister in a heavenly sanctuary and that every high priest—including Jesus—offers sacrifice, the implication is that the earthly high priests offer sacrifice in the earthly sanctuary and the heavenly high priest in the heavenly sanctuary. Verse 4 begins to draw out this implication, saying, "Now if [Christ] were on earth, he would not be a priest at all, since there are priests who offer gifts [προσφερόντων τὰ δῶρα] according to the law [κατὰ νόμον]." The author here states that Jesus was not a priest on earth.[123] The earthly priests were from the tribe of Levi, which was a requirement commanded according to the law (κατὰ νόμον), whereas Jesus was from the tribe of Judah and was given his high priesthood in the order of Melchizedek because of his indestructible life (7:14–16). Just as the levitical priests were appointed based on their family lineage according to the law (κατὰ νόμον), so also they offered gifts in the earthly sanctuary according to the law (κατὰ νόμον; 8:5). Jesus, however, is not a priest κατὰ νόμον and, therefore, does not present offerings in the earthly sanctuary.[124] His priestly activity happens in heaven, where he offers himself as a sacrifice.[125] The heavenly location of Jesus's offering does not, however, mean that Jesus's death on earth is not sacrificial.[126] Rather, as discussed

122 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:235; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 218; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:206; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 434; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 403; Koester, *Hebrews*, 377.

123 Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 135; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:206; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 236–54, esp. 249; Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 162; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 194–208; cf. Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:11, 235–36; Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 97–98; Peterson, *Perfection*, 192–95; Koester, *Hebrews*, 109–10.

124 Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:86; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 248–49.

125 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:235–36; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 217; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 435; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 250–53.

126 Some scholars have argued, based on this passage, that Jesus's death on the cross was not his singular atoning moment or means of achieving atonement (Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 249, 253; cf. Moffitt, *Atonement*, 274–75; "Blood, Life, and Atonement: Reassessing Hebrews' Christological Appropriation of Yom Kippur," in *The Day of Atonement: Its Interpretations in Early Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. Thomas Hieke and Tobias Nicklas, Themes in Biblical Narrative 15 [Leiden: Brill, 2012], 211–24). Scholars who try to maintain an earthly priesthood and exclu-

below, just as the Day of Atonement sacrifice involved a process that included slaughter and blood application, so also Hebrews describes Christ's sacrifice as a process that includes his death as a victim on earth, entrance into the heavenly sanctuary via his ascension, and presentation of the offering in the heavenly Holy of Holies. Thus, while Christ's sacrifice begins on earth, he does not act as priest until he is in the heavenly realm, where his priestly act of sacrifice includes the presentation of himself as an offering.[127]

The author has contrasted Jesus's offering to that of the levitical priests who offer gifts prescribed by the law, and in verse 5 he describes the nature of the earthly sanctuary in which the levitical priests minister and then validates his description with a citation of Exod 25:40. The author states that the levitical priests serve at a sanctuary that is a "sketch and shadow of the heavenly" (ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ τῶν ἐπουρανίων). Since the meanings of the terms ὑπόδειγμα and σκιά have been quite contentious among scholars, it may be helpful to begin by examining Hebrews's use of Exod 25:40, which the author uses to validate this description of the earthly sanctuary. The author states, "For Moses, when he was about to erect the tent, was warned, 'See that you make everything according to the pattern that was shown you on the mountain'" (Heb 8:5). As noted in ch. 3, Exod 25:40 is one of three verses in Exodus 25–26 that describes how God revealed to Moses a pattern (παράδειγμα; 25:9), type (τύπος; 25:40), and form (εἶδος; 26:30) of the temple and its furnishings. These references, then, became the basis upon which Jewish texts developed the idea of a heavenly sanctuary. What is clear in all uses of this Exodus tradition is that the earthly sanctuary is a copy of what Moses saw in heaven—whether it was the archetypal world

sively earthly offering for Christ—despite the clear rejection of this notion in Heb 8:3–4—are reacting against these understandings of the heavenly priesthood and offering of Christ, which seem to them to diminish the importance of Christ's death on the cross (Koester, *Hebrews*, 109–10, 382 n. 264; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 358; Schreiner, *Hebrews*, 244; cf. Franz Laub, *Bekenntnis und Auslegung: Die paränetische Funktion der Christologie im Hebräerbrief*, BibU 15 [Regensburg: Pustet, 1980], 204–7).

127 Loader bypasses this entire problem by arguing that Heb 8:3–4, as it relates to Jesus's priestly ministry, is not talking about the priestly ministry of sacrifice but the ministry of intercession. He argues this based on the fact that (1) the gifts and sacrifices are not described as "for sins" (ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν) as they are in other places (e.g., 5:1) and (2) the singularity of the sacrifice is not emphasized here as in other places, which would allow for a reference to the ongoing ministry of intercession (*Sohn*, 148–50). However, such a position requires one to divide the description in 8:3a of high priests offering (προσφέρειν) gifts and sacrifices from the description in 8:3b of Jesus's ministry of offering (προσενέγκῃ) intercession. Further, that Jesus had to offer "something" (τι)—which identifies a material sacrifice that must be offered (Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 186)—negates any viability to Loader's proposal.

(Philo), an incorporeal pattern (*Psuedo-Philo* 11:15), an actual temple awaiting descent at the eschaton (*2 Bar.* 4:2–7), or a heavenly temple where God dwells and angels perform cultic activities (*1 Enoch* 14; *ShirShabb*, *T. Levi* 3:1–8).[128]

Each of these traditions understood Moses's vision in Exodus to contain a vertical distinction between heaven and earth, a distinction that also correlated to that of ideal and copy. Thus, it is no surprise that Greek texts articulated this distinction using Platonic terminology. For instance, in identifying the heavenly sanctuary, the LXX uses παράδειγμα and τύπος to translate תַּבְנִית in Exod 25:9 and 25:40. Likewise, Wisdom of Solomon identifies Solomon's earthly temple as a μίμημα (copy) of the "holy tent that [God] prepared from the beginning" (9:8). Thus, there are instances in which Jewish texts employ Greek words current in Platonic terminology, not to adopt a strict Platonic understanding of the heavenly sanctuary as the world of ideas, but to establish a Jewish notion of a heavenly sanctuary that corresponds to an earthly sanctuary.[129]

The function of the citation of Exod 25:40, therefore, is first and foremost to establish the existence of a heavenly sanctuary, after which the earthly tabernacle was patterned.[130] The choice and form of the citation may also signify what the author hopes to communicate. The author does not cite Exod 25:9—"And you shall make for me according to all [πάντα] that I show you on the mountain—the pattern of the tent [τὸ παράδειγμα τῆς σκηνῆς] and the pattern of all [τὸ παράδειγμα πάντων] its furnishings" (NETS)—which which would seem applicable in Heb 8:5 in light of its use of σκηνή. It may be that the author intentionally avoids Exod 25:9 because it uses the term παράδειγμα, which was a Platonic *terminus technicus*.[131] Instead, the author uses Exod 25:40, where Moses is commanded to make the lampstand according to the pattern shown him when he was on the mountain. Such a text seems less fitting to the author's argument, but it allows him to use the less "Platonic" term τύπος, and he is able to widen the application of the principle by adding the word πάντα to the citation of Exod

128 Hebrews's citation of Exod 25:40 does not immediately demonstrate which one of these traditions it adopts, and scholars have identified Hebrews with each tradition (see Attridge, *Hebrews*, 220; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 160; cf. Hurst, "Eschatology," 46–48; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 437; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:89; Sterling, "Ontology," 194; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 243). However, as discussed above, the rest of Hebrews's discussion favors an identification with the last proposal.

129 Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 243.

130 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:236; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 408; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 291.

131 D'Angelo, *Moses*, 207–8; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 118. For other arguments, see D'Angelo, *Moses*, 207–8.

25:40.[132] When Philo cites this passage, he also includes πάντα (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.102), which has led some scholars to suggest that Hebrews is dependent on Philo in this instance. However, since the author is so familiar with the LXX, it is more likely that he takes his citation from the LXX and that he is combining the ideas of Exod 25:9 and 40, placing the πάντα of 25:9 in the citation of 25:40.[133]

The inclusion of πάντα affirms for the author an inclusive correspondence between heavenly and earthly tabernacles. Moses was told to make πάντα according to the pattern shown him on the mountain, which included the σκηνή, the furnishings, the lampstands, and the ark of the covenant (Exod 25:9, 40; 26:30; 27:8; Num 8:4). Hebrews likely introduces πάντα into the citation of Exod 25:40 to encapsulate in one citation everything that Moses saw, thereby suggesting that the entire discussion of the tabernacle throughout Exodus—including the form and structure of the tabernacle, its furnishings, and the investiture and ordination of the priests (Exod 25 – 29)—all (πάντα) were formed after the τύπος shown Moses. The author's citation of Exod 25:40, therefore, not only establishes a heavenly sanctuary corresponding to an earthly sanctuary, but it intentionally highlights a pervasive correspondence, so that the readers' understanding of the earthly sanctuary should inform their understanding of the heavenly sanctuary.[134]

Having established how the author uses the citation of Exod 25:40, we can now return to examine the meanings of ὑπόδειγμα and σκιά in the identification of the earthly sanctuary as a sketch and shadow of the heavenly one (ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ τῶν ἐπουρανίων).

Some scholars identify ὑπόδειγμα as a *terminus technicus* in Middle Platonism. Gregory Sterling, for example, notes that, while most Platonists preferred the term παράδειγμα, ὑπόδειγμα was also used for the noetic realm (as opposed to the earthly realm). Since Hebrews clearly uses ὑπόδειγμα to describe the *earthly* sanctuary, Sterling notes that ὑπόδειγμα had a second meaning of example or

132 The word πάντα was almost certainly not part of the author's LXX Vorlage of Exod 25:40. Only one late LXX tradition contains πάντα, and the πάντα may be a late addition to conform Exod 25:40 to the quotation in Hebrews.

133 D'Angelo, *Moses*, 208; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:207; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:90; Koester, *Hebrews*, 378; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 118; Mason, "Sit," 913; Calaway, *Sabbath and Sanctuary*, 105 – 7. The inclusion of πάντα by Philo, however, may confirm that it was common in early Jewish traditions to understand the entire sanctuary and its service to reflect that found in heaven. For other traditions in this mold, see D'Angelo, *Moses*, 208 – 10, 222.

134 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:236; D'Angelo, *Moses*, 205 – 22, esp. 214; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:207; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 408; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 282; Calaway, *Sabbath and Sanctuary*, 105 – 8.

copy of the idea.[135] In such a reading, ὑπόδειγμα makes a vertical distinction between the heavenly and earthly sanctuary that situates this distinction within a Platonic worldview.

However, despite the resemblance to the Platonic term παράδειγμα, ὑπόδειγμα is never used by Plato or Philo in reference to a Platonic copy.[136] The term ὑπόδειγμα, rather, is often used to identify an *example* or *pattern* that either should or should not be followed (e. g., Heb 4:11; Sirach 44:16; John 13:15).[137] This understanding of ὑπόδειγμα has led some scholars to argue for an exclusively horizontal (rather than vertical) understanding consistent with an eschatological temple tradition. The author, in this conception, does not identify the earthly sanctuary as the ontologically inferior copy of the heavenly sanctuary, but he identifies it as the outline or example that will have an eschatological fulfillment when the heavenly sanctuary descends to earth.[138] The difficulty with this position is that it appears inconsistent with the Exod 25:40 citation, which is supposed to prove the author's point. The Exod 25:40 citation establishes a vertical correspondence between heavenly and earthly sanctuaries, where the heavenly is the model for the earthly, whereas the proposed horizontal understanding of ὑπ-

135 Sterling, "Ontology," 195; cf. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 433 – 34, 436 – 37. The fact that ὑπόδειγμα could denote the noetic realm or the copy demonstrates that it had no clear technical meaning in Platonic thought.

136 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 219 n. 41; Hurst, *Background*, 13; Koester, *Hebrews*, 99, 377; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 114; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 118 – 19; Adams, "Cosmology," 133; Mason, "Sit," 914; Church, "Temple in Apocalypse of Weeks and Hebrews," 123 – 25. While these scholars state that ὑπόδειγμα was never used in reference to a Platonic copy, Sterling identifies two instances—Diogenes Laertius, *Lives* 3.71 (Plato) and *De placita philosophorum* 1.7.4—in which ὑπόδειγμα is used to speak of the ideal pattern as opposed to the earthly copy (as in Hebrews). He goes on to propose that the author of Hebrews knew of ὑπόδειγμα from Ezekiel 42:15 and τύπος from Exod 25:40. Since both of those texts contain Platonic language, the author employed the biblical language (ὑπόδειγμα and τύπος) to describe a Platonic framework ("Ontology," 195). Still, a few arguments suggest that this proposal is unlikely. First, the author of Hebrews likely would not have considered ὑπόδειγμα to be a distinctively Platonic term, since two rare usages of ὑπόδειγμα to mean ideal pattern does not make ὑπόδειγμα a Platonic *terminus technicus*. Second, while Ezek 42:15 uses ὑπόδειγμα when discussing the heavenly sanctuary, it does not use the term to identify the heavenly or earthly nature of the sanctuary. Rather, Ezekiel uses ὑπόδειγμα in the sense of *outline*, *form*, or *pattern*. Thus, it seems unlikely that the author of Hebrews chose to employ a meaning for ὑπόδειγμα that it rarely means in Platonic settings and does not mean in Ezek 42:15. It seems more likely that ὑπόδειγμα takes the general meaning *likeness* or *outline* (similar to Ezek 42:15).

137 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 219; Hurst, *Background*, 13; Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 162.

138 E.g., Hurst, *Background*, 13 – 17; Peterson, *Perfection*, 131 – 32; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 359 – 60.

όδειγμα diminishes the vertical component and makes the earthly the model for the heavenly.[139]

While ὑπόδειγμα is not used in a Platonic sense of copy, it is used to denote a *likeness*.[140] In this way, ὑπόδειγμα would designate the levitical sanctuary as a likeness of the heavenly sanctuary, and such a reading would be in keeping with the Exod 25:40 citation. It would, therefore, establish a vertical relationship but not in a Platonic sense.[141] The earthly sanctuary is in the likeness of the heavenly sanctuary.

A similar debate has taken place over the term σκιά. Some identify σκιά with a Platonic, vertical notion, because the term is used in Platonic writing and the shadow-copy imagery is prevalent in Philo's temple allegories.[142] On the other hand, some consider σκιά to establish an eschatological distinction,[143] since Hebrews uses σκιά in 10:1 in a horizontal, temporal manner when speaking of the law as "a shadow [σκιάν] of the good things to come" and not the "true form [εἰκόνα] of these realities" (cf. Col 2:17). The horizontal, temporal approach, however, requires one to read 10:1 back into 8:5.[144] For those reading linearly through the writing, the citation of Exod 25:40 would certainly result in reading σκιά vertically. While σκιά does establish a vertical relationship between the heavenly and earthly sanctuaries, a vertical function for σκιά does not mean σκιά establishes a Platonic reading of Hebrews, since σκιά is a fairly common word and not a distinctively Platonic term that would clearly establish the notion of a copy in contrast to a Platonic ideal. Rather, σκιά identifies the earthly sanctuary as a shadowy form of the ideal heavenly sanctuary, which is consistent with Jewish apocalypticism and Jewish mysticism.[145]

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139 Hurst addresses this concern by arguing that the citation of Exod 25:40 is actually a veiled allusion to the Ezekiel 40–48 text that describes a heavenly sanctuary awaiting descent (*Background*, 15–16). Such an arduous argument for a cryptic usage of Exod 25:40, however, seems unlikely.

140 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 219 n. 41; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 241; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 118–19.

141 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 219; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 241; Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 163.

142 E.g., Attridge, *Hebrews*, 219. For the use of σκιά in Platonic literature, see Plato, *Republic* 7:515 A–B. For the shadow imagery in Philo's temple allegories, see *Alleg. Interp.* 3.96–99, 103; *Planting* 27; *Dreams* 1.206.

143 Peterson, *Perfection*, 131–32; Hurst, *Background*, 13–17; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:207–8; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 119, 166–67; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 290; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 359–60; Church, "Temple in Apocalypse of Weeks and Hebrews," 125–26.

144 For this critique, see Barnard, *Mysticism*, 14.

145 Joslin argues that the terminology of ὑπόδειγμα and σκιά are familiar to Alexandrian Platonism but that the author does not conform to the philosophical baggage (*Law*, 180). While functioning primarily in a vertical manner, ὑπόδειγμα and σκιά may connote a horizontal relationship. Since the earthly Day of Atonement will become the pattern for Christ's heavenly sac-

Hebrews 8:6 concludes this section and anticipates the author's discussion of the new covenant in verses 7–13. The author again affirms the superiority of Jesus's ministry (λειτουργία). Not only does Jesus serve in the superior sanctuary, but his ministry also is based on a better covenant (κρείττονός διαθήκης) and better promises (κρείττοσιν ἐπαγγελίαις).

4.3.6 Hebrews 9:11–14

Hebrews 9:11–14 picks up the argument in 9:1–10, where the author describes the levitical Day of Atonement and how this practice demonstrated a lack of access to the divine presence (see ch. 5). Hebrews 9:11–12 moves from the failures of the old covenant cult to its description of the Christ cult, beginning the sentence with the emphatic Χριστός. The main clause of the sentence is a very basic statement that Christ entered once for all into the Holy of Holies (εἰς τὰ ἅγια).[146] This statement, however, is modified by two participial clauses and three prepositional phrases that we will consider in order.

The first modifying phrase is a participial clause that relates Jesus's priesthood with his entrance into the heavenly Holy of Holies. The author uses an aorist participle that stands temporally coincident to the main clause:[147] when Christ arrived (παραγενόμενος) as a high priest of the good things to come, he entered the heavenly Holy of Holies. The connection between Christ's priesthood and entrance into the heavenly sanctuary again affirms that Christ functions as high priest exclusively in the heavenly realm.[148] Further, he is the high priest of

rifice (9:6–14) and since Hebrews later uses σκιά in a temporal construction (10:1), it is possible that the author has intentionally chosen two words—ὑπόδειγμα and σκιά—that were not exclusively Platonic *termini technici* and that could be used horizontally/typologically to anticipate the eschatological/horizontal aspects of the heavenly sanctuary in addition to the primary concern of Heb 8:5—i.e., the vertical contrast between the earthly and heavenly sanctuaries. The typological/horizontal and vertical aspects, therefore, are inseparably interwoven (Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 242).

146 Some argue that the τά ἁγία is not the Holy of Holies in particular but the Holy Places—i.e., both sancta of the tabernacle (Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 452; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 222 n. 11).

147 For the coincident reading, see O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 318 n. 72; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 223 n. 13; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 389. An antecedent reading would not change the structure of the heavenly sanctuary, as Christ could arrive in the heavenly realm and then pass through the σκηνή and enter τά ἁγία.

148 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 245; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 464; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 448–49; Koester, *Hebrews*, 109–10, 407, 412; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 284; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 91; Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 255; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 319; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 389. Grässer maintains that Christ was a priest on earth, because he was a priest from the moment he arrived in the

"the good things that have come [τῶν γενομένων ἀγαθῶν],"[149] and those "good things" allude to the salvific realities that Christ's priesthood and sacrifice achieve, which were not available under the old covenant and its levitical cult.[150]

This participial clause is followed by a chiastic structure:[151]

A διὰ τῆς μείζονος καὶ τελειοτέρας σκηνῆς
B οὐ χειροποιήτου, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως
B′ οὐδὲ δι' αἵματος τράγων καὶ μόσχων
A′ διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος

Phrases A and A′ describe Christ's ministry, while B and B′ describe the levitical ministry that is counter to Christ's. Also, phrases A and B describe the sanctuary, while B′ and A′ describe the means of entrance.

In the first pair of phrases, the function of διά and the meaning of σκηνή have been widely debated. In terms of the function of διά, scholars have adopted either an instrumental or spatial function.[152] The instrumental reading often re-

world (10:5 – 10) (*Hebräer*, 2:143 – 44). Telscher maintains this position by arguing that the death and exaltation of Jesus are one event, so one cannot identify Jesus's priesthood simply with the heavenly (*Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 255). Kistemaker argues for an antecedent use of the participle, so that Christ arrived as high priest on earth before he entered the heavenly realm (*Hebrews*, 253).

149 While some manuscripts have the textual variant μελλοντων (א A D^2 Ψ^{vid} M lat sy^{hmg} co; K L P), the reading of γενομενων (P46 B D* 1739 pc $sy^{(p)h}$) is better attested (Attridge, *Hebrews*, 244; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:229; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 494; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:144; Bruce Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. [Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994], 598; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 319 n. 77; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 390), and μελλοντων may be an assimilation to 10:1.

150 For such an understanding of the phrase τῶν γενομένων ἀγαθῶν, see Hughes, *Hebrews*, 327; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 245; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:236; Lindars, *Hebrews*, 95; Koester, *Hebrews*, 407; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 284; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 181; Joslin, *Law*, 232; Sebastian Fuhrmann, "Christ Grown into Perfection: Hebrews 9,11 from a Christological Point of View," *Bib* 89 (2008): 92 – 100; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 319; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 390.

151 Hofius, *Vorhang*, 66; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:237; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 451; similarly Vanhoye, "Par la tente," 2; Koester, *Hebrews*, 406 – 7. In keeping with most scholars, we will interpret the three prepositional phrases in the chiasm as modifying the main verb; however, it should be noted that some scholars (e. g., Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 390) consider the first preposition to modify the preceding participle (παραγενόμενος) and not the main verb (εἰσῆλθεν).

152 Kenneth Schenck has introduced a modal reading (*Cosmology*, 164), because he recognizes the insufficiencies of the instrumental reading, but he does not want to adopt the spatial reading, which would ruin his understanding of the heavenly sanctuary. He thinks that the σκηνή and the ἁγία are the same thing, which is difficult to maintain in a spatial reading, because it would be redundant: Christ entered the σκηνή/ἁγία through the σκηνή/ἁγία. For this reason, he argues that the heavenly tabernacle is *how* Christ entered—i. e., he entered *via* the heavenly

sults in a metaphorical understanding of σκηνή, which we will reject below; however, some have chosen the instrumental reading while understanding σκηνή to mean tent or tabernacle. These scholars argue that Hebrews most often uses διά to denote means, so that this prepositional phrase modifies not only the main verb (Christ entered) but also the final participial phrase (securing an eternal redemption), thereby indicating that Christ's redemptive work was secured by means of the heavenly tabernacle.[153] However, it is much more natural to read διά as solely modifying the main verb; it seems unlikely that a location (σκηνή) would be the means by which something is accomplished, and the context in which Christ arrives (παραγενόμενος) and enters (εἰσῆλθεν) strongly suggests that διά functions spatially to refer to movement through the σκηνή.[154]

To identify further what it means for Christ to go "through the greater and more perfect tabernacle," we have to determine what the σκηνή is. Throughout the history of the church, scholars have offered numerous metaphorical readings of σκηνή, identifying it as Christ's human body, his whole human life, his glorified body, his sacramental body, and the church.[155] These metaphorical readings are often based on early Christian symbolism extrinsic to Hebrews, and some of these proposals violate the description of the σκηνή as "not of this creation" (e. g., Christ's human body or life). Further, the author never explicitly identifies the σκηνή with Christ, and these metaphorical readings do violence to the Day of Atonement pattern present in Heb 9:11–14.[156] The σκηνή in 9:11 denotes what it denotes consistently in Hebrews—i. e., the (whole) tabernacle.[157] Here the σκηνή

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tent. However, such a modal reading does not alleviate the problem of redundancy if one reads σκηνή and ἁγία as equivalents (Barnard, *Mysticism*, 112–13).

153 Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 152–53; Norman H. Young, "The Gospel according to Hebrews 9," *NTS* 27 (1981): 202–5; Loader, *Sohn*, 190; Koester, *Hebrews*, 161–62.

154 E.g., Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 118; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:256; Paul Andriessen, "Das grössere und vollkommenere Zelt (Hebr 9:11)," *BZ* 15 (1971): 86; Hofius, *Vorhang*, 67; Johnsson, "Defilement," 296; Loader, *Sohn*, 166; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 245–46; Löhr, "Thronversammlung," 191–92; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:229, 236–37; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 465; Isaacs, *Sacred Space*, 210; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 450; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 304; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 178–79; Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 256 n. 694; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 182; Joslin, *Law*, 231 n. 30; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 320; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 222; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 390–91.

155 For a summary of metaphorical options, see Hughes, *Hebrews*, 283–90.

156 Ibid., 286–87; Loader, *Sohn*, 183; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 246; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 393.

157 Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 118, 120; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:256; Hofius, *Vorhang*, 65–67; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 289–90; Loader, *Sohn*, 166–67; Peterson, *Perfection*, 143–44; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 246; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:230; Löhr, "Thronversammlung," 191–92; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 465; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 304; Koester, *Hebrews*, 409, 413–14; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 280, 285; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 178–79; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 320; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 391.

Some scholars identify σκηνή with the outer compartment, because σκηνή is used in 9:8 to iden-

is the heavenly tabernacle, which is the greater (μείζονος) and more perfect (τελειοτέρας) tabernacle that, in contrast to the earthly σκηνή, is not made by human hands and is not part of this creation.

As the prepositional phrase, therefore, relates to the main clause of the sentence, there is a question of how the σκηνή and τὰ ἅγια relate to each other, since Christ entered τὰ ἅγια through the σκηνή. Just as in 8:2, some scholars maintain that σκηνή and τὰ ἅγια are essentially equivalents, so there is only one room in the heavenly sanctuary and no division.[158] The ἅγια fills the σκηνή. It is the only room, and, therefore, they essentially refer to the same reality—heaven itself (9:24). Scholars maintain this position because Heb 9:11–14 does not mention two rooms or a curtain and because Heb 9:1–10 identified the outer room with a barrier to the divine presence and with the passing age, which is not in keeping with the discussion of the heavenly sanctuary.[159] However, such a reading results in an awkward redundancy between the main clause and the prepositional phrase, as it would result in the text saying that Christ entered τὰ ἅγια (which is heaven itself) through the σκηνή (which is heaven itself).[160]

It is more likely that, in keeping with his usage elsewhere, the author uses σκηνή to denote the entire tent in contrast to τὰ ἅγια, which is the Holy of Holies.[161] In this way, when Christ passes through the tabernacle, he passes

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tify the outer compartment and because such an identification would describe Christ passing through the outer compartment to enter the inner compartment (e.g., Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:238; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:145; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 320; cf. Michel, "σκηνή," *TDNT* 7:377; Andriessen, "Grössere Zelt," 83–84; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 223, 246–47). However, it is hard to imagine that the author would identify the σκηνή as "greater" and "more perfect," if it did not include the presence of God—i.e., the Holy of Holies (Loader, *Sohn*, 167; Koester, *Hebrews*, 409; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 159; Barnard, *Mysticism*, 112). In keeping with the usage elsewhere (with the exception of 9:1–10), σκηνή likely refers to the whole tabernacle, which includes two rooms (see n. 154). That the author has the entire tabernacle in mind is supported by the μέν/δέ relationship between 9:1 and 9:11, which suggests that the author is contrasting the earthly tabernacle (with its two rooms) to the heavenly tabernacle. The δέ of 9:6 is not the counterpart of the μέν in 9:1; rather, δέ in 9:6 functions as a transition from a discussion of the *structure* and *contents* of the earthly tabernacle (vv. 2–5) to the *ministry* in the earthly tabernacle (vv. 6–10), the two topics introduced by the μέν in v. 1 (δικαιώματα λατρείας τὸ τε ἅγιον κοσμικόν). The counterpart to the earthly sanctuary and ministry of the first (covenant) in v. 1 (μέν) is the heavenly sanctuary and ministry of Christ in v. 11 (δέ) (Koester, *Hebrews*, 393, 401; Compton, *Psalm 110*, 118).

158 E.g., Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 390–92; cf. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 446–48.

159 Hughes, *Hebrews*, 289; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 391.

160 Barnard, *Mysticism*, 112–13.

161 Hofius, *Vorhang*, 65–67; Loader, *Sohn*, 166–67; Löhr, "Thronversammlung," 191–92; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 280, 285; cf. Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:238; Koester, *Hebrews*, 409.

through the outer room of the tabernacle in order to enter the Holy of Holies.[162] The heavenly sanctuary, therefore, would consist of two rooms. Such a reading is consistent with the author's usage, consistent with a contrast between parallel heavenly and earthly sanctuaries, and consistent with the Day of Atonement pattern that has been established. This outer room could be conceived of in two ways in a mystical, apocalyptic worldview. First, as in *1 Enoch* 14, the author may envision the entire tabernacle as present in the highest heaven so that the entrance into the Holy of Holies is a horizontal move from the outer room into the inner room, all within the highest heaven. Second, similar to *Testament of Levi* 3, the author may envision the lower heavens as the outer room and the inner room as the highest heaven so that the entrance into the Holy of Holies is a vertical ascent through the outer heavens into the highest heaven.[163] While the latter position appears to be more consistent with 4:14, where Jesus is said to have gone through the heavens (τοὺς οὐρανούς), this phrase is also amenable to the first position, if Jesus ascends through the heavens to the highest heaven where the tabernacle exists. There is not enough information in 9:11–12 to determine which of these two apocalyptic pictures is operative for the author. What is clear is that the outer room could not be the physical or cosmological heavens because that notion would identify part of the creation with the heavenly sanctuary, when Hebrews states clearly in the second phrase of the chiasm that the heavenly sanctuary is οὐ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως.[164]

In the second pair of phrases in the chiastic structure (οὐδὲ δι' αἵματος τράγων καὶ μόσχων and διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος), the author contrasts the content of the sacrifices, and the content of these sacrifices is—based here on the instrumental function of διά—the means by which Christ entered the Holy of Holies.[165] Blood was necessary for the high priest to enter the sanctuary. Whereas the blood of goats and calves granted the levitical priests access to the earthly Holy of Holies, Christ's own blood granted him access to the heavenly Holy of Holies.

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162 Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 120; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:256; Loader, *Sohn*, 183; Peterson, *Perfection*, 143–44; Koester, *Dwelling*, 160 n. 21; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:237–38; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 320; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 224, esp. n. 15. This conclusion does not mean that σκηνή denotes the outer room (in exclusion to the inner room), but one could speak of passing through the tabernacle as a whole (when thinking of the outer room) to enter a room within that tabernacle (the Holy of Holies).

163 E.g., Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 120; Peterson, *Perfection*, 143; cf. Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:237–38.

164 Vanhoye, "Par la tente," 7–10; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 289; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:238; Peterson, *Perfection*, 143; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 392.

165 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 257, 281; Andriessen, "Grössere Zelt," 82; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 248; Loader, *Sohn*, 189–90; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:151; Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 257; Joslin, *Law*, 231; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 321; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 394.

Although the author here mentions the necessity of blood in order to enter the heavenly sanctuary, some scholars maintain that the connection between blood and entrance does not mean that Jesus took his own blood into the heavenly Holy of Holies.[166] The instrumental function of διά means that Jesus entered *by means of* and not *with* his own blood. If the author wanted to communicate *with*, other prepositions were at his disposal. Further, the author never explicitly speaks about Christ entering *with* his blood or of blood manipulation in the heavenly Holy of Holies.[167] However, other scholars have argued that Jesus does enter the heavenly sanctuary with his blood.[168] The author has built a correspondence between the earthly Day of Atonement and Christ's heavenly sacrifice, and the earthly high priest entered the earthly sanctuary *not without blood* (οὐ χωρὶς αἵματος) (9:7) and *with blood* (ἐν αἵματι) (9:24). Therefore, when the author contrasts οὐδὲ δι' αἵματος τράγων καὶ μόσχων and διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος, although the διά in each instance functions instrumentally, the idea of *with* resonates and is connoted.[169] "The blood is Christ's ticket of admission into the holy of holies as it was for the priests of the law."[170] Thus, 9:12 suggests that Christ brought his blood into the heavenly sanctuary.

The final clause of the sentence is the participial clause αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν εὑράμενος. We will address the salvific meaning of λύτρωσιν in ch. 5, so for now we will simply note how the salvific good that proceeds from Christ's sacrifice is linked to his entrance into the sanctuary. Christ's redemptive work is the result of his entering the heavenly sanctuary.[171]

In vv. 13–14, the author continues the contrast between the earthly and heavenly cults and here moves toward a comparison of the efficacy of the sacrifices. "If the blood of bulls and goats, with the sprinkling of the ashes of a heifer,

166 Westcott, *Hebrews*, 258–59; Bruce, *Hebrews: Apology*, 331–32; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 329–54; Loader, *Sohn*, 189–90; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 248; Kenneth Schenck, *Understanding the Book of Hebrews: The Story Behind the Sermon* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 83; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 195–96, 200–204; Joslin, *Law*, 231; Laansma, "Cosmology," 139; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 321; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 394; Schreiner, *Hebrews*, 268.

167 Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 257; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 200; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 394.

168 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:271–85, esp. 280; Walter Edward Brooks, "Perpetuity of Christ's Sacrifice in the Epistle to the Hebrews," *JBL* 89 (1970): 209–10; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 305; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 285–86; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 185; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 224, 273; Barnard, *Mysticism*, 109; cf. Loader, *Sohn*, 167, 189–92.

169 Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 285–86; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 224.

170 Brooks, "Perpetuity," 210.

171 Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 288.

sanctifies those who have been defiled so that their flesh is purified, how much more will the blood of Christ … purify our conscience from dead works to worship the living God!" We will discuss the differences in efficacy in chs. 5 and 6; thus, for now it suffices to highlight the fact that the author is beginning to use more sacrificial rites—beyond the Day of Atonement—as part of the pattern against which Christ is compared. Here the author mentions the sacrifice of the red heifer, when he mentions the "sprinkling of the ashes of a heifer." Such an inclusion of another sacrifice anticipates the inclusions of the covenant sacrifice and tabernacle inauguration in 9:18–22.[172]

4.3.7 Hebrews 9:23–28

Hebrews 9:23–28 not only affirms the picture of the heavenly sanctuary and cult already described in 8:1–6 and 9:11–14, but it adds a few new aspects. One novel concept occurs in the first verse of this section: "Thus [οὖν] it was necessary for the sketches of the heavenly things [τὰ ὑποδείγματα τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς] to be purified [καθαρίζεσθαι] with these rites, but the heavenly things [τὰ ἐπουράνια] themselves need better sacrifices [θυσίαις] than these" (9:23).

The οὖν demonstrates that the idea present in this verse about Christ's heavenly sacrifice is based on the previous section. In 9:15–22, the author describes the necessity of blood in establishing a covenant. Verse 18 notes that the first covenant was inaugurated with blood, which leads into a retelling of Moses's covenant sacrifice (Exod 24:1–8). Moses read the law to the people, took the blood of sacrifices, and sprinkled the people and the scroll with the blood (vv. 19–20). In v. 21, the author highlights another purifying action that he considers inextricably linked to the covenant sacrifice. He notes that "in the same way [Moses] sprinkled with the blood both the tent and all the vessels used in worship." The author may have Lev 8:10–11 and Exod 40:9–11 in mind here (cf. Num 7:1), where Moses inaugurates the tent and its vessels by sprinkling oil on them. Hebrews's use of blood rather than oil for this act may be the result of conflating the inauguration of the tabernacle with that of the altar, where blood was used (Lev 8:23; Exod 29:12; Ezek 43), or the result of a Jewish tradition regarding the inauguration of the tabernacle not only with oil but also with blood (see Josephus *Ant.* 3.206).[173] Hebrews 9:22 concludes the section by affirming its main

172 Johnsson, "Defilement," 227–28; Stökl ben Ezra, *Yom Kippur*, 187; Haber, "Christ Cultus," 120–21; Cortez, "Most Holy Place," 528–29; Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 171–72; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 177–78; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 167.

173 Hurst, *Background*, 38–39; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 409–10.

point—i.e., the necessity of blood: "Indeed, under the law almost everything is purified with blood, and without the shedding of blood there is no forgiveness of sins." The οὖν in 9:23, therefore, is drawing a conclusion based on the background of Moses's covenant and tabernacle inauguration.[174]

The author begins the argument in 9:23 by recounting the conclusion he has just made. The earthly sanctuary, its furnishings, and the cultic vessels needed to be purified. He identifies these items as τὰ ὑποδείγματα τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. The contrast between ὑπόδειγμα and the heavenly things affirms Hebrews's use of this term to establish a vertical (rather than a horizontal) relationship.[175] Further, the plural τὰ ὑποδείγματα suggests a correspondence of multiple things between heaven and earth, which was implied through the inclusion of πάντα in the citation of Exod 25:40 in Heb 8:5. Based on the reference to the purification of the tent (σκηνή) and all its vessels (πάντα τὰ σκεύη) in the description of Moses's covenant sacrifice in 9:21, these items, at the very least, appear to be in mind in 9:23.[176]

Since the heavenly and earthly sanctuaries contain corresponding cultic materials, the author draws the conclusion that, if the ὑποδείγματα of the heavenly things required purification, then the heavenly things themselves[177] must also require sacrifices, but better sacrifices than the earthly.[178] Scholars have adopted several theories regarding what Hebrews means by the purification of the heavenly things, and three proposals have received significant scholarly support.[179]

First, many think that the author is talking about the purification of the heavenly tabernacle.[180] Yet, some scholars have struggled with the idea that

174 For a discussion of 9:15–22 as it relates to 9:23, see D'Angelo, *Moses*, 244–47.

175 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:266; Hofius, *Vorhang*, 70; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:188; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 167.

176 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 261.

177 Schenck argues that αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ ἐπουράνια refers to the Holy of Holies—the neuter plural in keeping with the author's usual use of τὰ ἅγια—and not to the heavenly furniture (*Cosmology*, 169–70).

178 The plural θυσίαις in reference to sacrifice for the heavenly things is confusing since the rest of the book is adamant about the singularity of the heavenly sacrifice. Scholars have explained this aberration by arguing that the plural is used because the author is stating a general principle about numerous sacrifices, since a parallel is being drawn with a number of sacrifices (Westcott, *Hebrews*, 271; Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 132; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 261; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:188; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 416), or because θυσίαις is attracted to τούτοις with which it contrasts (e.g., Young, "Hebrews 9," 206).

179 David MacLeod has identified nine different understandings of the purification of the true tabernacle ("Cleansing Tabernacle," 60–71).

180 Buchanan, *Hebrews*, 153; Johnsson, "Defilement," 256–61, 330–31; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:247; Dunnill, *Covenant*, 232–34; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 484; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:188; Koester, *He-*

the heavenly sanctuary and the heavenly things require purification, because they find it difficult to accept that the heavenly realm occupied by God could be anything less than perfectly holy.[181] Yet, if the heavenly sanctuary is a created reality with spatiality and temporality, then it is possible for a space occupied by God to be defiled, just as the earthly temple occupied by God could become defiled. While a Platonic heavenly realm could not be defiled, the defilement of heaven is not a foreign notion to apocalyptic texts, where there is concern to keep the heavenly sanctuary pure from the sins of the angels—e. g., watchers (*1 En.* 12:3; 14:3 – 7, 15:3 – 4) or holy ones (Job 15:15; 4Q400 1 I, 14). Similarly, sanctification (קדש) and purification (טהר) are part of the priestly investiture in the *ShirShabb* that prepares the angelic priesthood to execute their duties in the heavenly sanctuary (4Q400 1 I, 15 – 16). Some scholars who adopt a purification of the heavenly things reading identify the impurity that needs purification with Satan and his angels;[182] yet, more consider the necessity of purification the result of human sins. The sin of humanity defiles and creates a "disordering not only of [human] society but of the cosmos."[183] In the levitical system, the sins of the people contaminated the sanctuary and its vessels (Lev 16:16, 19; 20:3; 21:23; Num 19:20), and, due to the correspondence and connection between the earthly and heavenly sanctuaries, the defilement of the earthly sanctuary impacts the heavenly sanctuary, so a comprehensive purification was necessary.[184]

Second, some scholars who struggle with the idea that the heavenly realm requires purification interpret the purification of the heavenly things in a metaphorical sense, in which the purification of the heavenly things is actually the purification of the conscience.[185] In v. 22, the author parallels purification (καθα-

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brews, 421, 427; Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 269; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 177; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 168; Calaway, *Sabbath and Sanctuary*, 157 – 58; Philip, *Leviticus in Hebrews*, 54; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 416.

181 Thomas Schreiner adopts the view that Heb 9:24 speaks of the purification of the heavenly realities (i. e., heaven itself); yet, he is unwilling to allow the heavenly realm to actually stand in need of cleansing, leading him to describe the purification language as "analogical" imagery describing "the effectiveness of Christ's sacrifice" (*Hebrews*, 283).

182 E.g., Michel, *Hebräer*, 323 – 24; John McRay, "Atonement and Apocalyptic in the Book of Hebrews," *ResQ* 23 (1980): 6; Robert Jewett, *Letter to Pilgrims: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (New York: Pilgrim, 1981), 157 – 58.

183 Johnsson, "Defilement," 331.

184 Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:247; similarly Weiss, *Hebräer*, 484; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:189; Koester, *Hebrews*, 427.

185 Milligan, *Theology of Hebrews*, 157 – 58; Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 132; Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 182 – 92; Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 160; Loader, *Sohn*, 169 – 70; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 262; Bruce, *Hebrews*, 228 – 29; Isaacs, *Sacred Space*, 212 n. 2; MacLeod, "Cleansing Tabernacle," 60 – 71, esp. 69 – 71; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 168; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 337.

ρίζεται) with forgiveness (ἄφεσις), so the οὖν beginning v. 23 draws on these corresponding terms, which relate to the salvific goods conferred on persons (cf. 10:2) and not to the purification of inanimate objects. Further, it is suggested that v. 23 parallels 9:14, where Christ's sacrifice is said to accomplish the purification of the conscience (καθαριεῖ τὴν συνείδησιν). Harold Attridge argues that in the Platonic thinking found in Philo, the "language of cosmic transcendence is ultimately a way of speaking about human interiority. What is ontologically ideal and most real is the realm of the human spirit."[186] In such a view, Hebrews understands the highest heaven (the most transcendent reality) to be equivalent with the deepest realm of human interiority, which for the author is the conscience. Thus, the cleansing of the heavenly things is simply another way of speaking of the purification of believers' consciences. The main problem with this reading is that it does not seem to fit the larger movement of Hebrews's argumentation. Hebrews 9:23–28 (esp. v. 24) maintains the apocalyptic, heavenly sanctuary imagery, which is contrasted to the previously discussed earthly sacrifices (vv. 15–22). It seems highly unlikely that the author slips into a metaphorical use of the heavenly sanctuary in v. 23 only to return to an actual heavenly sanctuary in v. 24. It is better, therefore, to reject metaphorical readings in this passage.

Third, several scholars have argued that cleansing the heavenly things denotes the inauguration of the heavenly sanctuary.[187] This proposal seems most fitting to Hebrews, because it matches the context of Hebrews's argument. Hebrews 9:18 speaks of the inauguration (ἐγκαινίζειν; cf. 10:20) of the covenant through sacrifice, vv. 19–20 then discuss that sacrifice, and v. 21 expands the discussion to include the inauguration and consecration of the tabernacle.[188] Verse

186 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 262. Sebastian Fuhrmann takes a similar position, arguing that the purification of the heavenly things is about cleansing the cult participants and not the purification of objects. He bases his argument more on Moses's covenant sacrifice, where he purifies the people, than he does on a metaphysical dualism consistent with Platonic thinking (*Vergeben*, 218–19). However, such an understanding does not make clear why believers are called "heavenly things."

187 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:266–67; D'Angelo, *Moses*, 244–47; Hurst, *Background*, 38–39; Kraus, *Heiligtumsweihe*, 238–45; Dunnill, *Covenant*, 232; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 477; Stanley, "New Covenant," 154–55; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 225 n. 20; Mason, "Sit," 916; Compton, *Psalm 110*, 138–41.

188 Some have argued that the cleansing of the heavenly things in 9:23 could not be the inauguration of the sanctuary, because such an inauguration happened in Lev 8:10–11 and Exod 40:9–11 with oil and not blood (Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 183). However, Heb 9:21 interprets the inauguration of the original tabernacle to have occurred with blood, so the identification of inauguration by blood should not dismiss such a reading of 9:23.

22 immediately identifies these inaugurating sacrifices as the means by which purification takes place. Therefore, the purification of the heavenly things in 9:23 is the manner by which Christ's sacrifice inaugurates the heavenly tabernacle. Some scholars have bolstered this position by noting places where καθαρίζειν and ἐγκαινίζειν are used interchangeably (1 Macc 4:36[–59]; Josephus, *Ant*. 3.197; cf. Exod 29:36; Lev 8:15).[189] This argument does not mean, as some opponents have proposed,[190] that this position considers καθαρίζειν and ἐγκαινίζειν lexical equivalents. Rather, καθαρίζειν can accomplish a number of things, and one thing purification accomplishes is inauguration or consecration (e. g., 4Q400 1 I, 15 – 16).[191] The argument is not that καθαρίζειν and ἐγκαινίζειν are lexical equivalents; rather, the argument is that, in this instance, the purification accomplishes the inauguration or consecration of the heavenly tabernacle.[192] While inauguration of an earthly temple was an action prerequisite to the ability to offer a sacrifice within it, the inauguration of the heavenly sanctuary is subsumed in Christ's sacrifice. He does not purify the heavenly sanctuary and later offer himself. Rather, in one offering Christ consecrates the heavenly sanctuary, inaugurates the new covenant, and atones for sins.

Hebrews 9:24 returns the conversation to familiar ground: "For Christ did not enter [εἰσῆλθεν] a sanctuary [ἅγια] made by human hands [χειροποίητα], a mere copy of the true one [ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἀληθινῶν], but he entered into heaven itself [αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν], now to appear in the presence of God on our behalf." As in 9:11 – 12, it is stated that Christ entered (εἰσῆλθεν) the heavenly Holy of Holies

189 See esp. Kraus, *Heiligtumsweihe*, 244 n. 58; also Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:266 – 67; Mason, "Sit," 916.

190 E.g., Schenck, *Cosmology*, 167 n. 79; also Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:188 n. 14.

191 Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 421. Just like καθαρίζειν and ἐγκαινίζειν are not lexical equivalents, neither are purification and inauguration conceptual/thematic equivalents. Rather, purification is an essential component to inauguration, and inauguration does not happen apart from purification.

192 Some scholars adopt this position because they do not think the heavenly sanctuary could be made impure by sins. However, the consecration of the earthly tabernacle was likely necessary for the removal of the defilement caused by the human beings who constructed it (Johnsson, "Defilement," 95 – 96; Hurst, "Eschatology," 66; MacLeod, "Cleansing Tabernacle," 69). Therefore, this proposal ought not to reject the first proposal of a purification of sin, but it takes the additional step of a purification of sins/defilement that inaugurates the tabernacle (cf. Steve Stanley, "A New Covenant Hermeneutic: The Use of Scripture in Hebrews 8 – 10" [Ph.D. diss., University of Sheffield, 1994], 154 – 55; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 225 – 26 n. 20). This nuance may address the objections of those who think this position bifurcates the connection in 9:22 between καθαρίζειν and ἄφεσις (Attridge, *Hebrews*, 261; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 336 – 37).

(ἅγια),[193] and this heavenly sanctuary is described as not made with human hands (χειροποιήτου in 9:11; χειροποίητα in 9:24). Further, the description of the earthly sanctuary as ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἀληθινῶν is the flipside of the identification of the heavenly sanctuary in 9:11 as τῆς μείζονος καὶ τελειοτέρας σκηνῆς. The heavenly sanctuary is the greater and more perfect tent; it is the true tent (ἀληθινῶν), of which the earthly sanctuary is a copy or pattern (ἀντίτυπα).[194]

The phrase εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν has received significant attention and carries a lot of weight for those who think the heavenly sanctuary is a cosmological temple. They argue that the author here explicitly identifies the heavenly Holy of Holies with the whole of heaven. This conclusion is purportedly evidenced by the fact that, whereas in other places the author speaks of plural heavens (οὐρανοί), here the author uses the singular and then emphasizes its singularity with the emphatic use of the pronoun.[195]

However, two other readings are more likely and allow for a consistent understanding of the heavenly sanctuary throughout Hebrews. First, some scholars consider τὸν οὐρανόν to speak of the heavenly realm in contrast to the earthly realm. As noted above, 9:24 parallels much of the description found in 9:11–12, and just as "copy of the true one" (9:24) was the flipside of "the greater and more perfect tent" (9:11), so "heaven itself" (9:24) is likely the flipside of "not of this creation [κτίσεως]" (9:11). In this way, εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν is not intended to denote specific boundaries of the ἅγια but to identify it as located in the heavenly realm. Scholars have suggested that, in this way, οὐρανόν is used literarily, where the whole of heaven is substituted for a part of it (the tabernacle in heaven). A similar usage is found in 8:4, where the author says that, if Christ "were on earth [ἐπὶ γῆς], he would not be a priest." In this instance, the whole γῆ represents a part of it (the tabernacle on earth), because the author

193 For ἅγια as the Holy of Holies, see Hofius, *Vorhang*, 71; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:191 n. 41; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 146.

194 The ἀντίτυπα may contrast the τύπος of 8:5 (D'Angelo, *Moses*, 208, 224–25; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:201). The term ἀντίτυπα was not a distinctly Platonic term and was never used to describe the world of sense perception in contrast to the heavenly realm of ideas (Hurst, *Background*, 17–19). Still, based on the context, the term ἀντίτυπα articulates a vertical or qualitative distinction and not a temporal distinction (Weiss, *Hebräer*, 486–87; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 479; Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 270; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 417–18 n. 18; contra Hurst, *Background*, 17–19). However, the author does employ the vertical distinction in a typological relationship that is eschatological (Weiss, *Hebräer*, 486–87; Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 270).

195 E.g., Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 160; MacRae, "Heavenly Temple," 187; Braun, *Hebräer*, 282; Koester, *Dwelling*, 174; Schenck, *Cosmology*, esp. 174–75; cf. Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 162, 170.

means that Christ could not be a priest *in the tabernacle on earth*. Therefore, just as in 8:4 the whole γῆ stands for the part (the earthly sanctuary), so in 9:24 the whole οὐρανόν stands for the part (the heavenly sanctuary).[196]

Second, some scholars maintain that εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν must have a more specific referent and argue that the singular οὐρανόν, in contrast to the plural οὐρανοί in all other places, is the means by which the author identifies the highest heaven.[197] Christ went through the heavens (τοὺς οὐρανούς; 4:14) and is exalted above the heavens (τῶν οὐρανῶν; 7:26), so that he is now in the highest heaven (εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν). In support of this position, scholars have noted that apocalyptic literature speaks of the layers of heaven with the plural, but of the highest heaven with the singular (e.g., *T. Levi* 2:6; 5:1; *1 En.* 1:3–4; 71:5; cf. 4Q403 1 i 42–43).[198]

Ultimately, the author's main point is that Christ enters the heavenly sanctuary "to appear [ἐμφανισθῆναι] in the presence of God on our behalf."[199] Having arrived before the throne and before the heavenly altar, the natural progression of the argument would be to discuss Christ's offering. Verses 25–26 again contrast Christ's sacrifice to that of the levitical cult. The levitical high priest entered the Holy of Holies year after year (κατ' ἐνιαυτόν; cf. 8:7), offered sacrifices repeatedly (πολλάκις; cf. 7:27), and offered blood that was not his own. This model was not possible for Christ, because it would require that he suffer repeatedly (πολλάκις) from the beginning of the world. Rather, Christ "appeared [πεφανέρωται] once for all [ἅπαξ] at the end of the age to remove sin by the sacrifice of himself [διὰ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῦ]" (9:26).

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196 Hurst, *Background*, 28; cf. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 486.

197 Hofius, *Vorhang*, 70–71; Mathias Rissi, *Die Theologie des Hebräerbriefs: Ihre Verankerung in der Situation des Verfassers und seiner Leser*, WUNT 41 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 36; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 222; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:248; Barnard, *Mysticism*, 109, 113–15.

198 Hofius, *Vorhang*, 70–71; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 222; Barnard, *Mysticism*, 113–15.

199 Some scholars have noted that in the Old Testament appearing before the face of God not only refers to people coming to the sanctuary (Exod 23:15, 17; 34:23; Deut 16:16), but also refers to seeking God's help in prayer (Ps. 27:8) and receiving favor from him (Ps 17:15; 42:3) (O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 338). These latter usages have led some scholars to conclude that Christ's appearance before the face of God refers exclusively to his intercessory function as priest (Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:267–68; Loader, *Sohn*, 185; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 263; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:191–92; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 98; Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 270). However, appearing before the face of God is not about an intercessory function but relates to the culmination of Christ's movement into the Holy of Holies, which is part of the pattern of the Day of Atonement. That the author has sacrifice and offering in mind here rather than intercession is evident by the discussion of Christ's self-offering (προσφέρῃ, v. 25; θυσίας, v. 26; προσενεχθείς, v. 28), which dominates the rest of the passage.

A couple implications are present in this description of Christ's self-offering, especially in contrast to the levitical sacrifice. First, the author identifies the heavenly Holy of Holies as the place where Christ presents his sacrifice.[200] In v. 25, Christ's not presenting himself (προσφέρῃ) repeatedly (rather, presumably presenting himself once/ἅπαξ) is logically and grammatically dependent on Christ's appearance in the heavenly sanctuary in the presence of God (ἐμφανισθῆναι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν; v. 24). Likewise, Christ appears (πεφανέρωται) in v. 26 in order to remove sins by means of his self sacrifice (θυσία αὐτοῦ), again making Christ's self-offering or self-sacrifice dependent on his appearance in the heavenly sanctuary. Second, the contrast between Christ and the levitical high priest who enters *with blood* (ἐν αἵματι; v. 25) strongly suggests that Christ also brings his blood into the heavenly Holy of Holies as part of his self-offering.[201]

Regarding the first implication, the word πεφανέρωται raises some questions about where Christ appeared and sacrificed himself. Verse 26 is one of three instances in vv. 24–28 that speak of Christ appearing. In v. 24, Christ appears (ἐμφανισθῆναι) in the presence of God in the heavenly Holy of Holies. In v. 28, Christ appears (ὀφθήσεται) a second time (ἐκ δευτέρου), which describes his second coming. Since v. 26 speaks of Christ's self-sacrifice in contrast to the levitical sacrifices, it would make sense for πεφανέρωται to follow the model of v. 24, articulating Christ's appearance in the heavenly Holy of Holies where he offers himself.[202] However, since v. 28 refers to Christ's second appearance on earth, it is possible that πεφανέρωται refers to Christ's first physical manifestation on earth (the incarnation).[203] The former interpretation is likely preferable. If one reads the text linearly, one expects Christ's appearance in v. 26 (especially in light of the cultic context) to conform to his appearance in the heavenly sanctuary of v. 24. Verse 28, then, picks up the language of appearance and the Day of Atonement pattern. The earthly high priest entered the Holy of Holies to make atonement, and then he came out. In contrast, Jesus entered the Holy of Holies but does not immediately exit, not appearing again outside the sanctuary until his second coming.

200 Contra Young, "Hebrews 9," 209; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:248–49; Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 271; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 421.

201 Contra Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 161; Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 271; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 220.

202 Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 299–304; cf. Spicq, *Hébreux*, 1:311–16.

203 Loader, *Sohn*, 185–86; Kraus, *Heiligtumsweihe*, 244 n. 59; Koester, *Hebrews*, 422; Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 272–73; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 424.

Verses 27–28 repeat the principle of the singularity of Christ's sacrifice and then speak about the second coming of Christ. Since a human can only die once, Christ could only sacrifice himself once (v. 27). Still, Christ will appear again, but not to offer himself and deal with sin. Rather, he will appear again in order "to save those who are eagerly waiting for him" (v. 28).

4.3.8 Hebrews 10:11–14

Hebrews 10:11–14 offers another comparison between the levitical cult and Christ's heavenly cult. A μέν-δέ framework establishes a sharp contrast between the description of the levitical cult in v. 11 and the Christ cult in v. 12. In describing the levitical cult, the author does not restrict himself to the activities of the high priest as in other texts (e. g., 5:1; 7:27–28; 8:3–5; 9:7, 25), but he broadens his description to the work of every priest. In so doing, the author demonstrates the universality of the claim he is making.[204] It is not only the high priest (cf. 7:27) but every priest that stands (ἕστηκεν) and day-after-day (καθ' ἡμέραν), repeatedly (πολλάκις) offers sacrifices (προσφέρων θυσίας). The author has taken the established theme of the repeated nature of the levitical sacrifices and has paired this theme with the picture of standing. The priests stood during worship (Deut 10:8; 18:7; 1 Kgs 8:11; 13:1; 2 Chr 29:11; Jer 28:5), and the author identifies this position as representative of the perpetual nature of their ministry.[205] The result was that these sacrifices could never take away sins.

Verse 12 contrasts v. 11 in almost every regard (see Table 1). Christ does not offer himself repeatedly, but he offers a single (μίαν) sacrifice for sins.[206] When he had completed this sacrifice, he sat (ἐκάθισεν) at the right hand of God, where he sits for the rest of time (εἰς τὸ διηνεκές).[207] The use of ἐκάθισεν alludes to Ps

204 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 279; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 354.

205 O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 354–55.

206 The designation of the θυσίαν as ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν is not likely another way of denoting the specific sin offering, which is designated in the LXX with περὶ ἁμαρτίας. Rather, Christ's sacrifice encompasses all sacrifices that are *for sins* (ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν).

207 Some scholars think that εἰς τὸ διηνεκές modifies προσενέγκας and denotes the perpetual effects of the offering (one sacrifice for all time) (Westcott, *Hebrews*, 316; Peterson, *Perfection*, 149; Bruce, *Hebrews*, 237 n. 57; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:256; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 355, esp. n. 72). Such an interpretation is possible; however, stronger arguments support the position that εἰς τὸ διηνεκές modifies ἐκαθισεν and describes the perpetuity of the exaltation (Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 140; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 280; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 512–13; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 509–10; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:229; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 449 n. 9). In v. 11, ἕστηκεν is modified by καθ' ἡμέραν, so that having εἰς τὸ διηνεκές modify ἐκαθισεν would balance the clauses and the comparison (At-

110:1, and the citation is concluded in v. 13. The use of Ps 110:1 draws on the author's themes of enthronement and ascension, but the author blends this kingly imagery with Christ's high priesthood. In 10:12, the seated position not only denotes enthronement but it speaks to the finality of Christ's sacrifice. Whereas the levitical priests stood, Christ was able to sit down after he had completed his sacrifice. He has completed the sacrificial ministry of his high priesthood.[208] It is noteworthy that here again the author places Christ's sacrificial act in close connection with his exaltation and enthronement, thereby suggesting an inseparable union of these actions in the author's mind. Further, the close connection of these two actions suggests, in a way consistent with the author's argument elsewhere, that Christ's presentation of the offering takes place in the same location as his exaltation—the heavenly throne room/sanctuary. Christ presents his offering and remains in the heavenly sanctuary, when he takes his place at the right hand of God.[209] He does not leave the heavenly sanctuary again until his second coming (cf. 9:26–28).

Table 1 Hebrews 10:11–12

v. 11	v. 12
μέν	δέ
πᾶς ἱερεύς	οὗτος
ἕστηκεν	ἐκάθισεν
καθ' ἡμέραν	εἰς τὸ διηνεκές
καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς πολλάκις	μίαν
προσφέρων θυσίας	προσενέγκας θυσίαν
αἵτινες οὐδεποτε δύνανται περιελεῖν ἁμαρτίας	ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν

Verse 14 concludes the statements in vv. 11–13, noting that by a single offering (μιᾷ προσφορᾷ) Christ "has perfected for all time those who are sanctified." A

tridge, *Hebrews*, 280; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 449 n. 9). Further, εἰς τὸ διηνεκές is used in 10:1 to describe the perpetual sacrifices of the levitical cult; therefore, one would not expect the author to use this phrase to speak of Christ's cult. Rather, the author uses this prepositional phrase elsewhere to describe a heavenly status for Christ (priest in 7:3; exalted in 10:12) and for believers (perfected in 10:14).

208 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 280; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:267; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:228; Koester, *Hebrews*, 440; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 447–50.

209 Eskola, *Messiah and Throne*, 208; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 227; cf. Hay, *Right Hand*, 87, 152; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 279; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:267; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 355; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 450; Mackie, "Heavenly Sanctuary Mysticism," 84.

discussion of the salvific goods identified in this statement (perfection and sanctification) is found in ch. 6.

4.3.9 Conclusions

Based on these texts in which the author speaks of the heavenly sanctuary, we can conclude that the author conceives of an actual (not metaphorical) sanctuary in heaven.[210] The heavenly sanctuary is a created reality (ἔπηξεν ὁ κύριος; 8:2) with spatial and temporal existence.[211] It is the pattern (τύπον) for the earthly tabernacle (8:5) so that there is a correspondence between the two sanctuaries in *all* (πάντα) things (8:5; cf. 9:23).[212] The heavenly sanctuary is the perfect (τέλειος) or ideal (ἀληθινός) sanctuary (8:2; 9:11, 24), and the earthly sanctuary is a copy (ὑπόδειγμα) and shadow (σκιά) of the heavenly (8:5; 9:23–24).

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210 Esp. Mackie, *Eschatology*, 158–59; cf. Vanhoye, "Par la tente," 1–25; Andriessen, "Grössere Zelt," 87–88; Hofius, *Vorhang*, 49–94; Loader, *Sohn*, 184; Kraus, *Heiligtumsweihe*, 242; Hurst, *Background*, 29; Löhr, "Thronversammlung," 192; Eskola, *Messiah and Throne*, 252; Laansma, "Cosmology," 137; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 224; Mackie, "Heavenly Sanctuary Mysticism," 83. The contrast between *literal* and *metaphorical* is a common way of discussing the issue (see William G. Johnsson, "The Heavenly Sanctuary—Figurative or Real?" in *Issues in the Book of Hebrews*, ed. Arnold V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard Lesher [Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1981], 31–51; Hurst, *Background*, 24–33; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 144–81; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 158–64; Moore, *Repetition*, 153). However, Jody Barnard argues that this way of speaking is not helpful, because the author would have understood the heavenly sanctuary to be both literal and metaphorical. Yet, his arguments for metaphorical aspects are based on what he perceives to be inconsistencies in Hebrews's thought world (Barnard, *Mysticism*, 105–6; similarly Schenck, *Understanding*, 80–81), whereas this work finds a consistent thought world in Hebrews.

211 The created sanctuary with spatial and temporal existence conceived in this study is another domain ontologically distinct from, yet connected to the earthly domain. The heavenly sanctuary (ἐπουρανίων; 8:5) with heavenly things (τοῖς οὐρανοῖς; τὰ ἐπουράνια; 9:23) and spiritual beings (πνεύματα; 1:14) is not anti-material, but seems to have a kind of materiality that can be revealed and/or perceived by the senses. While Christ's resurrected body present in the heavenly realm post-ascension is a unique element in the heavenly sanctuary, the presence of his material flesh suggests some kind of materiality to the heavenly sanctuary in which he sits on a throne. The spatial nature of the heavenly sanctuary is exemplified by the many spatial references. Jesus passes through (4:14; 9:11), approaches (4:16), and enters (6:19; 9:12, 24) different parts of the heavenly realm. This space contains God's throne (1:3; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2) and God's presence (9:24). The temporal aspects of the heavenly sanctuary are demonstrated by the events, actions, and changes in the heavenly realm.

212 E.g., Löhr, "Thronversammlung," 192; Kraus, *Heiligtumsweihe*, 242; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 224–25.

Not only is there a correspondence between heaven and earth in terms of the cultic location (sanctuary), there is also correspondence between heaven and earth in terms of cultic activity. Just as the levitical high priest progresses through the tabernacle into the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement (9:6–7), so Christ is a heavenly high priest (8:1–6) who ascends through the levels of heaven (4:14), is exalted above the heavens (7:26), and enters the highest heaven (9:24). The author describes this ascent as Christ passing through the tent (9:11) and entering behind the curtain (6:19–20) and into the Holy of Holies (9:12, 24).[213] Christ's ascension, therefore, is interpreted as a high priestly entrance into the Holy of Holies.

Thus, following the pattern of the Day of Atonement, Christ enters the Holy of Holies, and, just as the levitical high priest approached the presence of God above the ark of the covenant, Christ appears in the presence of God who is seated on the throne (9:24; cf. 8:1; 10:12). As the levitical high priest offered sacrifices on the Day of Atonement, so Christ offers himself. Christ's ministry—with the offering of gifts and sacrifices specifically in mind—is located in the heavenly sanctuary (8:3–4). Christ offers himself as a sacrifice for sins (ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν προσενέγκας θυσίαν; 10:12; cf. 9:14, 25). In two of the instances in which the author states that Christ offered himself, blood is mentioned in the same sentence (9:14, 25), thereby suggesting what is implied in the Day of Atonement parallel—i.e., blood is presented (προσφέρειν) in the Holy of Holies as part of Christ's self-offering.

Many scholars have rejected the idea that Christ brought blood into the heavenly sanctuary or applied/sprinkled it on the heavenly mercy seat. For most scholars this objection is based less on the interpretation of Hebrews and more on continued Platonic notions that a heavenly sanctuary could not be defiled by blood.[214] Although the author does not explicitly say that Christ brought blood into the sanctuary and applied it to the altar, these conclusions are implied in the author's statements.[215] First, the parallel between Christ's sacrifice

213 Moffitt, *Atonement*, 224; Barnard, *Mysticism*, 116–17. This understanding presumes diverse uses of οὐρανός and οὐρανοί that are used within a consistent, logical framework. For those who argue for inconsistencies, see, e.g., Luck, "Himmlisches Geschehen," 207; Laub, *Bekenntnis*, 172–79; Löhr, "Thronversammlung," 190.

214 If, as discussed in this section, we conceive of the heavenly sanctuary in an apocalyptic fashion as a created sanctuary with temporal and spatial existence with a kind of materiality that can be revealed or perceived, then it is possible (though not necessary) that blood could be brought into the heavenly sanctuary.

215 For those who argue for blood application in the heavenly sanctuary, see, e.g., Eduard Riggenbach, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, KNT 14 (Leipzig: Deichert, 1913), 222–23; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:235; Loader, *Sohn*, 189–92; Eskola, *Messiah and Throne*, 259, 261, 358; Rascher, *Schriftaus-*

and the Day of Atonement suggests that Christ brought blood into the Holy of Holies.[216] The focus of the author's description of the Day of Atonement is not on slaughter or scapegoat but on entering the heavenly sanctuary to apply blood, which suggests that the author emphasizes this part of the Day of Atonement because Christ follows this pattern. This implication based on the Day of Atonement is present in several texts. (*a*) Hebrews 9:7 says that the high priest enters the Holy of Holies *not without blood* (οὐ χωρὶς αἵματος), which he offers (προσφέρει) for himself and for the sins of the people.[217] The implication is that Christ follows this pattern so that in 9:11, when Christ is said to enter the heavenly Holy of Holies by means of his blood, and in 9:14, when Christ offers (προσήνεγκεν) himself, the idea is that Christ brought his blood into the Holy of Holies and offered it as a sacrifice. (*b*) Further, Heb 9:14 closely associates Christ's blood and heavenly offering and complements this association by ascribing a salvific good to Christ's blood. The blood of Christ, then, must be seen as part of the heavenly sacrifice. (*c*) Hebrews 9:23 establishes the principle that almost everything is purified with blood, and the term αἱματεκχυσία likely speaks of the sprinkling of blood rather than the shedding of blood (see below, pp. 155–56). In the next verse, the author speaks of the purification of the heavenly things. The inevitable conclusion is that the blood of Christ was necessary for their purification, and the implication is that, just as the earthly things were sprinkled with blood (9:13, 19, 23), Christ's blood is sprinkled on the heavenly things.[218] (*d*) Hebrews 9:25 states that Christ did not offer (προσφέρῃ) himself like the high priests with blood that is not his own. The implication, again, is that Christ offered blood that is his own. Second, not only is the application of Christ's blood implied, but Heb 12:24 describes Christ's blood as "sprinkled" (αἵματι ῥαντισμοῦ).[219] For these reasons, it seems appropriate to ex-

legung, 173–78; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 224; Calaway, *Sabbath and Sanctuary*, 28, 144, 168, 173; for a critique of this suggestion, see Laub, *Bekenntnis*, 195.

216 Eskola, *Messiah and Throne*, 259, 261, 358; Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 175–78; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 224.

217 Gäbel notes that, while the text does not mention sprinkling, it is implied by the location of the offering of blood on the Day of Atonement (*Kulttheologie*, 277).

218 Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 175–76.

219 Also, Heb 10:22 identifies the hearts of believers as sprinkled clean. It is quite likely that blood is what is sprinkled and purifies the believers. This instance, however, moves from the application of the blood on the sanctuary to the application of the blood on believers. The language of blood sprinkling in 10:22 could be perceived as (1) metaphorical language in light of the mention of "hearts"; (2) a movement from the indicative in 8:1–10:18 to the exhortative in 10:19–25 (i.e., due to the blood sprinkling of 8:1–10:18, believers should draw near); or

tend the correspondence of heaven and earth beyond a correspondence of sanctuaries and priests to a correspondence of cults. Christ enters the heavenly sanctuary with blood, presents it as an offering, and sprinkles it on the mercy seat.[220]

Thus far, we have emphasized the heavenly location of Christ's priestly act of sacrifice. The great difficulty with a heavenly sanctuary and cult is to determine how they relate to Christ's earthly ministry and suffering.[221] Hebrews does not ignore Jesus's death; rather, there are numerous references or allusions to his concrete, historical death. (1) Hebrews explicitly speaks about Jesus's death and suffering in 2:9–10, 14, 5:7, 9:15–17, 9:26–27, and 13:12 (using the words θάνατος, πάσχειν, and πάθημα). (2) Hebrews 13:20 says that God brought Jesus back from the realm of the dead (ἐκ νεκρῶν). (3) The author makes repeated reference to the blood of Jesus (9:12, 14; 10:19, 29; 12:24; 13:12, 20), which was part of his incarnate, earthly form (2:14). (4) Hebrews 6:6 refers to Christ's crucifixion when noting that believers who fall away "are crucifying again the Son of God." (5) Hebrews 12:2 speaks directly about how Jesus "endured the cross."[222] Thus, it is clear that the author does not diminish or discount the earthly death of Christ. At the same time, as argued above, the author locates Jesus's priestly ministry in the heavenly sanctuary (8:1–6), where he offered himself (προσφέρειν; 9:14, 25, 28; 10:12; cf. 7:27) as a sacrifice (θυσία; 9:23, 26; 10:12; cf. 7:27) or offering (προσφορά; 10:10, 14).[223]

These two sets of texts, which honor both the earthly death and the heavenly priesthood of Christ, create a tension in Hebrews, and a proper interpretation of the book requires one to honor both the earthly and the heavenly aspects of Christ's work.[224] The most coherent way to bring these texts together is to view

(3) the result of a covenant sacrifice in which people are sprinkled with blood (e.g., Exod 24:8; Heb 9:19).

220 Eskola, *Messiah and Throne*, 259, 261, 358; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 224.

221 Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 167; cf. Schierse, *Verheissung*, 57; Thompson, *Beginnings*, 105–9, here 106.

222 Mackie, *Eschatology*, 175–76; Christopher A. Richardson, *Pioneer and Perfecter of Faith: Jesus' Faith as the Climax of Israel's History in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, WUNT 2/338 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 41–42.

223 Mackie, *Eschatology*, 176–77. In many of the listed verses, the author appears to relate or explicitly place Christ's presentation (προσφέρειν), offering (προσφορά), or sacrifice (θυσία) in the heavenly sanctuary (e.g., 9:14, 23, 25, 26), whereas in other places the offering/sacrifice may function synecdochically to denote the entire sequence of events from slaughter to presentation (e.g., 7:27; 9:28; 10:10, 12, 14).

224 Some scholars identify Jesus's sacrifice or self-offering entirely with his earthly death on the cross. His ascension and entrance into the heavenly sanctuary is a distinct event taking place *after* his earthly sacrifice (e.g., Bruce, *Hebrews*, 201; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:249; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 70, 448; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 58, 289, 321; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 394–95, 416; Richard-

Christ's sacrifice as a process that spans heaven and earth. This understanding uses the author's own interpretive paradigm—i.e., the Day of Atonement—to bring Christ's earthly death and heavenly cultic actions into a unity. Sacrifice is a process.[225] The animal is slaughtered, and the blood is collected. The high priest then takes the blood, enters the Holy of Holies, presents the blood, and sprinkles it on the mercy seat. Following a similar pattern, Christ dies on earth as the sacrificial victim. He then rises from the dead and ascends into heaven, where he becomes the high priest.[226] As high priest, Christ brings his own blood into the heavenly Holy of Holies to present and sprinkle it. In this view, Christ's death, resurrection, and ascension are all held together as part of his singular, sacrificial act.[227]

In addition to the pattern of the Day of Atonement, two other arguments confirm the author's union of death, resurrection, and exaltation in a sacrificial process. First, the author repeatedly links Christ's death with his exaltation. "This basic pattern is adhered to throughout the epistle, as the author almost al-

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son, *Pioneer*, 36–43; Schreiner, *Hebrews*, 244, 267–68, 284–85). For instance, Loader diminishes the heavenly work of Christ and locates his sacrifice solely on earth. In order to hold this position, Loader spends significant time reinterpreting the heavenly sanctuary texts, either to diminish their significance, explain how the author refers to an earthly sacrifice in the midst of his discussion of the heavenly sanctuary, or contend that Jesus's heavenly ministry is identified solely with intercession (*Sohn*, 185–202).

225 Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, esp. 170–71, 178–79, 199–200; Brooks, "Perpetuity," 208–14; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:239, 251–52; Dunkel, "Expiation," 63–71; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 1:245; Thomas Knöppler, *Sühne im Neuen Testament: Studien zum urchristlichen Verständnis der Heilsbedeutung des Todes Jesu*, WMANT 88 (Neukirchener-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2001), 199–200; Eskola, *Messiah and Throne*, 254, 259–61, 358; Richard D. Nelson, "'He Offered Himself': Sacrifice in Hebrews," *Int* 57 (2003): 252–57; Christian Eberhart, "Characteristics of Sacrificial Metaphors in Hebrews," in *Hebrews: Contemporary Methods—New Insights*, BIS 75 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), esp. 58–64; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 212–319, esp. 252–53; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 95–96, 158–59, 169–70; Philip, *Leviticus in Hebrews*, 53; Moore, *Repetition*, 12–13.

226 Within this discussion of sacrifice and a sequence of events, there is also the issue of when Jesus was a high priest. As it relates to the sacrificial role of the high priest, Hebrews appears to place that function of Jesus's high priesthood exclusively in the heavenly realm. Further, in terms of the sequence of events, it is at the moment of resurrection and ascension that Jesus's role changes from victim to high priest. Thus, without eliminating the possibility of a high priesthood before his ascension, we can say that Christ *becomes* high priest at this moment at least in terms of his changing of roles.

227 Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 252–53; Barnard, *Mysticism*, 116, 134; cf. Moffitt, *Atonement*, 219–20, 269–81, 292–93; Calaway, *Sabbath and Sanctuary*, 156. By including resurrection as part of the sacrificial process, this view deviates from those who describe Christ's ascension into heaven as a spiritual translation immediately after death (e.g., Grässer, *Hebräer*, 1:245; Knöppler, *Sühne*, 199–200).

ways mentions Christ's suffering/death and exaltation in the same breath, conjuring heaven and earth in one sweep (1:1–3; 2:9; 5:8–9; 7:27–28; 10:12–14, 20–21; 12:2, 24)."[228] Second, Christ's priestly ministry of sacrifice is located exclusively in the heavenly realm (7:15–17, 23–24; 8:4); therefore, when the author describes Jesus's self-offering in priestly and cultic terms (5:1–10; 7:26–27; 9:11–14, 23–28; 10:10–14, 19–21), one must locate this sacrifice in the heavenly sanctuary, where Jesus performs his ministry. Jesus must become a priest in heaven so that he can make a sacrifice of atonement (2:17).[229] At the same time, this sacrifice does not happen apart from his earthly passion. His offering is himself—his blood (αἷμα; 9:12, 14) and body (σῶμα; 10:10), and the singularity of his sacrifice is directly related to the singular death of mortal beings (9:26–28). Further, his death is connected to the cultic good of redemption (ἀπολύτρωσιν; 9:15; cf. 9:12).[230] Thus, there is an intricate connectedness between Christ's earthly slaughter and his priestly presentation of the offering in heaven. These events are distinct, but they are also held in a unity so that the author can speak of both the earthly and heavenly aspects as part of Christ's sacrifice that brings salvific effects.[231]

Some Protestant scholars are uncomfortable with this view of Christ's sacrifice as a process, because they think this view diminishes Christ's death and the centrality of the cross.[232] In part, this caution is justified, because some scholars have identified the atoning moment of the Day of the Atonement with the blood application as opposed to the slaughter of the victim. As a result, they consider Christ's death on the cross not as "the actual salvific event but the precondition

228 Mackie, *Eschatology*, 95–96. On only two occasions does the author mention the death or exaltation independent of the other (9:11–14 and 13:12, of heaven and earth, respectively). Mentioning these acts independent of the other does not diminish the overall presentation of these two events as a unity.

229 For a discussion of Heb 2:17 from those who identify Christ's sacrifice as entirely earthly, see Loader, *Sohn*, 187, 201.

230 Scholars have noted 9:27–28 and 10:10 as texts that contradict a heavenly location for sacrifice (Schenck, *Understanding*, 80–81; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 253; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 421 n. 8); however, it is better to place these texts in the author's broader scheme that balances Christ's earthly slaughter and heavenly presentation.

231 Nicholas Moore notes that Christ's sacrifice spanning earth and heaven is "an inherently border-crossing and category-confounding event with eternal consequences" that invalidates any proposals that maintain a strict, ontological dualism between heaven and earth (*Repetition*, 13).

232 For a discussion of theological issues related to a sequence approach, see Michael Kibbe, "Is It Finished? When Did It Start? Hebrews, Priesthood, and Atonement in Biblical, Systematic, and Historical Perspective," *JTS* 65 (2014): 25–61.

for the availability of his blood." [233] Christ's death is essential in that it produces the blood, but the truly efficacious rite is the blood manipulation.[234] However, such diminishments of Christ's death fragment sacrifice into seemingly independent components, and they ignore that slaughter is not merely preparatory for sacrifice but is a vital part of the process. The levitical laws did not simply describe blood application, but at great length they described what kind of animal and what characteristics it must have for a sacrifice to be efficacious. Sacrifice was a holistic process beginning with slaughter and culminating with blood manipulation. If one aspect of the process was modified, the sacrifice was not valid. Further, the author of Hebrews does not diminish the slaughter of the sacrificial victim, as demonstrated by the texts that speak of Christ's earthly death. Each part of Christ's sacrificial process is essential and vital. While the author may focus more of his attention on what takes place in the heavenly realm, he does not diminish the essential character of Christ's death or its salvific effects.

To avoid a potential diminishment of the cross, some scholars have argued that Christ's heavenly ministry is, in a sense, equivalent to his earthly death on the cross. The two events happen at the same time; the description of what happens in the heavenly sanctuary is a heavenly way of speaking about what was taking place on earth.[235] However, such a view confuses a progression of events that is articulated in Hebrews. Hebrews notes the necessity of exaltation for Christ to become priest. Once priest, he enters the heavenly Holy of Holies to offer sacrifice. Thus, Christ cannot enter the Holy of Holies as priest before he ascends to heaven (as in this proposal). Scholars who understand Jesus's heavenly ministry as metaphorical language to describe Christ's death on the cross violate the structure of Hebrews's thought world and turn the heavenly sanctu-

233 Eberhart, "Sacrificial Metaphors," 58.

234 Brooks, "Perpetuity," 208 – 14; Eberhart, "Sacrificial Metaphors," 58 – 59; cf. Eskola, *Messiah and Throne*, 254, 259 – 61, 267, 358. While David Moffitt also stresses that presentation of blood and not sacrificial death is "not the means of atonement" and that "what happens *after* the death of the victim is determinative" (*Atonement*, 292; cf. 219 – 20, 256 – 81), he does not abstract the slaughter from the blood manipulation but maintains that all "the various elements of the ritual are necessary" (*Atonement*, 293).

235 E.g., Calvin, *Hebrews*, 106; Luck, "Himmlisches Geschehen," 21; Peterson, *Perfection*, 191 – 95; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 251, 271. There are more options than just the sequence approach outlined here and the metaphorical interpretation. R. B. Jamieson, in a forthcoming article, delineates several different views based on how they deal with three variables: Christ's death on the cross, Jesus's entrance into heaven, and Jesus's offering. Several of those views are noted above (nn. 224, 227, 234 – 35) where my interpretation deviates from their reading of Hebrews.

ary and cult into a metaphor, wheareas the author of Hebrews speaks of them as something quite real.[236]

4.4 The Function of the Heavenly Sanctuary and Cult

Having argued that mystical texts in Jewish apocalyptic literature provide the conceptual background for Hebrews's heavenly sanctuary and demonstrating how this background fits Hebrews's discussion of the heavenly sanctuary and cult, we now examine the implications of identifying Hebrews's heavenly cult in the stream of early Jewish mystical and apocalyptic texts. A flurry of recent scholarship has connected Hebrews to the mystical texts of Second Temple apocalyptic.[237] These works have drawn implications from the mystical texts in terms of Hebrews's Christology[238] and the mysticism of believers, including their progression into the Holy of Holies.[239] This monograph, however, focuses on the role and function of the heavenly sanctuary and cult.

Most scholars assume that the heavenly sanctuary and cult serve a negative or critical function. The heavenly cult is ontologically superior to the earthly cult, and, therefore, it demonstrates the futility of the earthly cult. The heavenly sanctuary and cult, therefore, diminish and devalue the earthly practice, critiquing by their very nature the Jerusalem temple and the levitical cult.[240] It may even be that the author viewed the old covenant sacrifices as a threat to "the unique significance of the redemption in Christ, if they are kept side by side with the sacrifice of Christ."[241] The most positive thing a scholar says about the relationship between the earthly and heavenly cults is that the heavenly sanctuary and cult may have provided for believers who were without a sanctuary an alternative sanctuary, "where Christ ministers, giving listeners a renewed focus for faith and worship."[242]

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236 Similarly, Moore, *Repetition*, 154 – 55.

237 In addition to the texts listed in the next two footnotes, see Löhr, "Thronversammlung," 185 – 205; Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, 139 – 40; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*.

238 Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 78 – 113; Eskola, *Messiah and Throne*, 202 – 11, 251 – 69; Rowland and Morray-Jones, *Mystery of God*, 167 – 73; Barnard, *Mysticism*.

239 Barnard, *Mysticism*, esp. 194 – 208; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 155 – 230; Mackie, "Heavenly Sanctuary Mysticism," 77 – 117; Mackie, "Mystical Motifs," 88 – 104.

240 E.g., Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:90 – 91; Eskola, *Messiah and Throne*, 257; Sterling, "Ontology," 208; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 163.

241 Eskola, *Messiah and Throne*, 257.

242 Koester, *Hebrews*, 428, similarly 382.

However, ch. 3 demonstrated that the heavenly cult in Second Temple Judaism always validates the earthly cult. In these texts, angels function as priests in an ornate heavenly temple, where they offer sacrifices. Each aspect of the heavenly cult corresponds to the earthly cult—temple, priesthood, and sacrifice. The goal of the earthly cult, therefore, is to follow perfectly after the heavenly model to either imitate the prototypical model or to synchronize the earthly worship with the heavenly. The earthly cult was validated if and when it was following after the pattern of the heavenly, ideal cult. Thus, while the heavenly cult could critique improper worship, it did not diminish the earthly, levitical cult; rather, the heavenly cult served to legitimize its earthly counterpart. The earthly worship that coordinated with the heavenly worship—i.e., the worship that was properly performed—was pleasing to God and efficacious. The heavenly cult, therefore, served a positive function.

Due to the positive function of the heavenly sanctuary in Jewish mystical and apocalyptic texts, we should consider the heavenly sanctuary in Hebrews to serve a similar positive function.[243] A heavenly being serves in a heavenly temple[244] where he offers a sacrifice.[245] There is correspondence between the heavenly and earthly cults in sanctuary, priesthood, and sacrifice so that the

243 Koester, in his monograph *The Dwelling of God*, does not see a connection between the mystical texts and Hebrews, because Hebrews speaks of a heavenly tent whereas the mystical texts speak of a heavenly temple. Koester only considers texts that speak of a tabernacle as potentially representing a conceptual background for Hebrews. However, such an approach to the thought world behind Hebrews seems too narrow, especially since the tabernacle is likely a way that the author refers to the ideal service of the levitical cult, whether in the tabernacle or the temple (e.g., Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 146; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 84–85; Filtvedt, *Identity*, 162). The tabernacle, therefore, is likely a cipher for the temple (MacRae, "Heavenly Temple," 181; Bruce, *Hebrews*, xlii–xliv). Other scholars have suggested that Hebrews speaks of the tabernacle rather than the temple in order to be politically cautious (Steve Motyer, "The Temple in Hebrews: Is It There?" in *Heaven on Earth*, ed. T. Desmond Alexander and Simon J. Gathercole [Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 2004], 177–89) or because the temple had been destroyed, so mentioning it would be pointless (Schenck, *Understanding*, 88–105; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 195–98). For more arguments, see Barnard, *Mysticism*, 88–90.

244 Mackie notes that the apocalyptic texts that describe the heavenly sanctuary often contain extensive details about the heavenly tabernacle, whereas Hebrews does not. While this absence could challenge the background of apocalyptic texts, Mackie notes that the author may have taken a different tact because the "extraneous details would detract from Jesus" and because the validity of the heavenly sanctuary is not in the details of the sanctuary but in the encounter with Jesus the high priest (Mackie, *Eschatology*, 167).

245 For others who have identified this correspondence in Hebrews not only with the sanctuary but with the liturgy, see Bietenhard, *Himmlische Welt*, 125–29; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:231–32; Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 189; D'Angelo, *Moses*, 203–7, 248–49; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 236, 244–45; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 360.

heavenly, ideal cult validates the earthly, levitical cult. The citation of Exod 25:40 in Heb 8:5 may help to substantiate this idea. The fact that the tabernacle was patterned after the heavenly is the very thing that gave it validity.[246] Being a sketch (ὑπόδειγμα) and shadow (σκιά) of the heavenly ideal was not necessarily a bad thing in the ancient world; it was a good thing. The sanctuaries not patterned after the heavenly were the ones that were invalid.[247]

The correspondence between heaven and earth also affects the view of sacrificial efficacy. The idea in the mystical texts is that the heavenly cult is the truly efficacious cult, and efficacy emanates from it. If the earthly practice properly imitates or synchronizes with the heavenly cult, then the earthly practice is efficacious. If this perspective is applied to Hebrews, then Christ's heavenly sacrifice is the truly efficacious sacrifice, and efficacy emanates from it. The levitical sacrifices would be efficacious when they properly imitated or synchronized with Christ's sacrifice.[248] The levitical sacrifice, in this way, was not in and of itself efficacious but was only efficacious in that God ordained it (Heb 10:8) as a means of accessing the efficacy of the heavenly sacrifice. Whatever efficacy was ascribed to the levitical sacrifices in the Old Testament—e.g., atonement and forgiveness—was not attributed to them because of their validity in themselves but because God promised that the levitical sacrifices could access these salvific goods that were ultimately derived from the heavenly sacrifice, the sacrifice of Christ.[249] Thus, when adopting a positive function for the heavenly cult in Hebrews, the levitical sacrifices become sacramental, christological types—i.e., *they are external rituals sacramentally signifying an atoning efficacy that was achieved later by Christ and applied proleptically to levitical sacrifices*.

Still, Hebrews does not adopt this model without modifications but makes some alterations to the pattern of the heavenly cult found in mystical texts.

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246 Mackie contends that the protological and ontological superiority of the heavenly sanctuary distances it from the earthly tabernacle, so that there could be no correspondence or convergence between them (*Eschatology*, 163). However, Mackie offers no proof for this assumption, which stands in contrast to the findings of ch. 3.

247 Koester, *Hebrews*, 383; cf. Koester, *Dwelling*, 185–86; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:232–33. D'Angelo argues that, based on the inclusion of πάντα in the citation of Exod 25:40, Moses not only saw the pattern of the tabernacle, but he saw the pattern for the priest and the sacrificial act, which means that Moses saw Christ's investiture as priest and his sacrifice of self in the heavenly Holy of Holies (D'Angelo, *Moses*, 203–7, 248–49; similarly Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 360).

248 Lane makes a similar argument, noting that the old covenant sacrifices had "validity only in reference to the eschatological reality associated with Christ's definitive sacrifice and exaltation. The comparison reflects upon the typological relation between the old and new covenants" (Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:248; cf. Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 152 n. 9).

249 Likewise, Stanley, "New Covenant," 157; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 340.

First, whereas the priests in the apocalyptic texts were angels, Christ—God incarnate—is the high priest in Hebrews. The incarnate aspect of Christ is significant in Hebrews's heavenly cult, as the sacrificial process began on earth and concluded in heaven.[250] Second, whereas the heavenly cult in the apocalyptic texts functioned perpetually just like the levitical cult, Christ's heavenly sacrifice is a singular event that takes place after many years of levitical practice. Third, whereas mystical texts used the heavenly cult to show the pattern for continued levitical practice, Christ's sacrifice calls for the end of the earthly practice.

This last alteration creates a bit of tension within Hebrews as Christ's sacrifice both validates the past practice of the levitical cult while also calling for its cessation.[251] This tension, however, is not simply the result of adopting a mystical, apocalyptic understanding of the heavenly sanctuary; rather, it is the result of the author's blending the vertical distinction related to the heavenly cult with the horizontal, eschatological distinction, which we will describe in more depth below. While Christ validates the levitical cult, Christ has also inaugurated a new age and a new covenant, so that the age of the first covenant has come to an end. In addition, as we will discuss in the following chapters, Christ's sacrifice achieves an efficacy beyond that which was promised in the old covenant sacrifices. Those salvific accomplishments mean that there is no longer any need for an offering for sin (10:18).

The blending of the vertical and horizontal results in a prophetic and pedagogical function for the typological correspondence between the heavenly and earthly cult. The levitical sacrifice, although modeled after the heavenly ideal, also foreshadows the sacrifice of Christ that will happen in the heavenly sanctuary, thereby serving a prophetic function. Similarly, because the levitical sacrifice

250 Mackie notes the mystical texts that describe a correspondence between the heavenly and earthly sanctuaries (Isaiah 6; *Jub.* 2:2; 31:14; *1 Enoch*; *T. Levi* 3:4–6), but then he argues that "the author's emphasis on the earthly existence of Jesus and his costly self-offering somewhat mitigates the value of this background. It is perhaps best to assign these priestly traditions a marginal role in the formation of Hebrews' high priest Christology" (*Eschatology*, 183). Mackie here is talking about priesthood and not sacrifice, which may mitigate the implications of his argument for our discussion of sacrifice in the heavenly sanctuary. Also, it is not clear to this author how a sacrifice that begins on earth but is culminated by a heavenly priest in the heavenly sanctuary could not still fit the understanding of the mystical, apocalyptic texts.

251 The tension between validating the levitical cult and calling for its end is not a contradiction; rather, it fits Hebrews's larger framework and argument (see the summary in pp. 236–40). While on the surface these two notions seem at odds, they cohere within a system where a singular sacrifice is *the* means of atonement for all time. It is fitting both that the levitical sacrifices be linked and validated by *the* means of atonement (Christ's sacrifice) and that no sacrifice is necessary after the achievement of that atonement.

foreshadowed Christ's sacrifice, it also taught believers what was necessary for atonement and forgiveness to take place (i.e., the death of a substitute), thereby serving a pedagogical function.[252]

This theory relies significantly on assumed knowledge between the author and his audience. It depends on knowledge derived from the cultural encyclopedia shared by the author and his addressees. When the author speaks about levitical sacrifice, his audience would understand that levitical sacrifices, above all, accomplished atonement and forgiveness, and they would understand that the heavenly cult was the model for the earthly cult. They knew that the heavenly cult validated the practice of the levitical cult, as long as the levitical cult properly followed the pattern of the heavenly. These were deeply entrenched beliefs assumed by the author and his audience.[253] What the author must make clear, in contrast, was how these basic understandings of sacrifice and the heavenly cult now fit into a Christian framework. Thus, if the present argument is true, one should not expect the author to explicitly argue for the correspondence between heaven and earth or for the validity of the levitical sacrifices being derived from Christ's sacrifice. Rather, these ideas will be assumed and veiled in other arguments. What the author must make clear is where his argument differs from the assumed character of a heavenly cult. Since the heavenly cult in apocalyptic texts depict perpetual and ongoing sacrifice in both the heavenly and earthly realms, the author emphasizes (1) the singularity of Christ's sacrifice and (2) the end of earthly sacrifice, which is closely related to his eschatological framework of old-new, first-second.

252 Similarly, Barrett, "Eschatology," 384, 392; Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 169–70; Sowers, *Philo and Hebrews*, 105–12; MacLeod, "Cleansing Tabernacle," 62–63; Schenck, *Understanding*, 80–81; Scott W. Hahn, "Covenant, Cult, and the Curse-of-Death: Διαθήκη in Heb 9:15–22," in *Hebrews: Contemporary Methods—New Insights*, BIS 75 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 87; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 80, 121; Philip, *Leviticus in Hebrews*, 56; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 28, 360.

253 Making an assumption about the function of the heavenly sanctuary is not unique to the present argument. Rather, scholars who identify the heavenly cult with a negative function or critique of the earthly cult also make an assumption. The difference is that their assumption is not based on Jewish apocalyptic or mystical ideas.

4.5 Distinctives

4.5.1 Singularity of Christ's Sacrifice

The author emphasizes the singular sacrifice of Christ. In apocalyptic conceptions of the heavenly cult, the heavenly *and* earthly sacrifices are perpetual. The author of Hebrews notes the perpetual character of the earthly, levitical sacrifices. The priests offer sacrifices repeatedly (πολλάκις; 9:25; 10:11), day after day (καθ' ἡμέραν; 7:27; 10:11), and year after year (κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν; 10:1, 3). In contrast, Christ offers a single (μίαν; 10:12, 14) sacrifice that is ἅπαξ and ἐφάπαξ.

Aloysio Winter has demonstrated that these two words (ἅπαξ and ἐφάπαξ) denote a singular finality. In this way, they have both a numerical and qualitative sense. They both denote the singularity (numerical) and the ultimacy (qualitative) of the event. In addition, the ἐφάπαξ form especially accents an accumulative or aggregative character, which carries with it the idea of "all at once" or "at a single blow."[254]

The author uses these two words to contrast the levitical sacrifice to Christ's sacrifice. Whereas the levitical priest offered "sacrifices day after day [καθ' ἡμέραν], first for his own sins, and then for those of the people; this [Christ] did once for all [ἐφάπαξ] when he offered himself" (7:27). In addition to this instance, the author uses ἅπαξ in 9:26 and 9:28 and ἐφάπαξ in 9:12 and 10:10 to describe Christ's self-offering in comparison to the levitical sacrifices. Christ's sacrifice, therefore, is a singular event that is ultimate or final. There is no recurrence. If Christ's sacrifice accomplishes the necessary salvific effect, there is no need for further sacrifice (cf. 10:2).[255] Additionally, the collective or aggregative sense contrasts with the multiplicity of the levitical sacrifices. Christ's sacrifice encapsulates and, in so doing, fulfills every aspect of the levitical system *all in one blow, all at once.*

254 Aloysius Winter, *Die überzeitliche Einmaligkeit des Heils im "Heute": Zur theologie des Hebräerbriefes* (Neuried: Ars Una, 2002), esp. 7, 9, 218; cf. Laub, *Bekenntnis*, 242–43.

255 Di Giovambattista, *Giorno dell'espiazione*, 143–44; Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 84. Nicholas Moore argues that repetition is not always a negative quality in Hebrews (*Repetition*, esp. 6). As it relates to levitical sacrifice, he distinguishes between the nature and the repetition of the sacrifice, casting the blame for the levitical sacrifice's inferiority with their nature and not with their repetition. "Repetition is rhetorically *indicative* but not fundamentally *constitutive* of the imperfection of the old order" (*Repetition*, 204; cf. 6, 29, 178).

4.5.2 The End of Sacrifice

The words ἅπαξ and ἐφάπαξ carry with them the sense of finality that suggests the end of sacrifice. Once the ultimate sacrifice has been performed, there is no longer any need for further sacrifice. This view fits the author's contrast between the covenants. The νόμος not only contained the promises and regulations of the old covenant, but it also prescribed the levitical priesthood and cult. Therefore, the author sees in the Christ-event a change of covenant (7:18; 8:7–13) and a change of priesthood (7:12), which brings with it a change of sanctuary and cult (8:1–6). With the inauguration of the new covenant and its accompanying cult, the age of the first covenant comes to an end. The author concludes his lengthy citation of the new covenant text from Jer 31:31–34 (LXX 38:31–34) with the statement, "In speaking of 'a new covenant,' he has made the first one [πρώτην] obsolete. And what is obsolete and growing old will soon disappear" (8:13). With the inauguration of the new covenant through the mediator Christ (9:15), God makes the first covenant obsolete and brings it to an end.[256]

Since the levitical sacrifices are dependent on the first covenant, the end of the first covenant also means the end of the levitical sacrifices. In the midst of discussing Christ's priesthood and offering, the author describes "the abrogation of an earlier commandment [ἀθέτησις ... προαγούσης ἐντολῆς] because it was weak and ineffectual [ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀνωφελές]" (7:18). The author has especially in mind here commandments relating to who could be a priest (see discussion below). In 10:9 while contrasting the levitical sacrifices to Christ's sacrifice, the author says that Christ "abolishes the first in order to establish the second [ἀναιρεῖ τὸ πρῶτον ἵνα τὸ δεύτερον στήσῃ]." The author here speaks of the entire first and second covenants, but he has in mind the movement from the old covenant levitical sacrifices to the new covenant Christ sacrifice.[257] The levitical sacrifices are abolished according to 10:9.[258] The author makes this point more clear in 10:18, where he states that "where there is forgiveness of [sins and lawless deeds], there is no longer any offering for sin [οὐκέτι προσφορὰ περὶ ἁμαρτίας]." Since Christ's sacrifice achieves the ultimate forgiveness of sins,

256 Some scholars have noted that "disappear" (ἀφανισμός) is used in the LXX exclusively for the demise of persons or things by the violent judgment of God (Johnson, *Hebrews*, 209–10; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 303).

257 Westcott, *Hebrews*, 312; Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 138–39; Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 168; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 275–76; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:264–65; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 508; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 504; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:222; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 351–52.

258 Filtvedt, *Identity*, 158–60.

there is no longer any sacrifice—levitical or Christ. Christ cannot be sacrificed again, and the levitical sacrifices have no effect.[259]

4.5.3 The Inauguration of the Heavenly Sanctuary

As noted above, Heb 9:23 may be interpreted as an inauguration of the heavenly tabernacle. The purification of the heavenly things is a description of the inauguration process in keeping with 9:21. In this way, Christ inaugurated the tabernacle (9:23), entered the heavenly sanctuary (9:24), and offered himself as a sacrifice (9:25–26). The interpretation of 9:23 as describing the inauguration of the heavenly sacnctuary is consistent with the framework outlined here, because it highlights the fact that the heavenly sanctuary was not in use until Christ ascended into heaven. While Moses saw the copy of the tabernacle in heaven before the inauguration of the levitical cult, the heavenly cult did not begin at that time. The levitical sacrifice proceeded for years before the heavenly sanctuary was inaugurated, thereby allowing the heavenly cult to begin. Christ's sacrifice, in this case, would be the first and only sacrifice offered in the heavenly sanctuary.

4.5.4 LXX Psalm 39:7–9 in Hebrews 10:5–10

Finally, I want to briefly examine the author's use of LXX Ps 39:7–9 in Heb 10:5–10 to see how the author's use of this psalm may fit into the structure as described above. The author introduces the citation by placing the words of the psalm on Christ's lips with the phrase "consequently, when Christ came [εἰσερχόμενος] into the world, he said" (10:5a). Whereas in other places, the author describes Christ entering (εἰσέρχεσθαι) the heavenly sanctuary (6:19–20; 9:12, 24–25), the use of κόσμον certainly refers to Christ entering the earthly realm, since the author uses κόσμος exclusively to refer to the earthly realm (4:3; 9:26; 11:7, 38; cf. κοσμικόν in 9:1). Christ's coming into the world, therefore, is his

259 Jody Barnard argues for a mediating position between the old and new covenants. He suggests that neither the old nor the new covenant is fully experienced. The old covenant is being absorbed, and the new covenant is emerging; "both covenants are operational and neither covenant is fully functional" ("Anti-Jewish," 42). Within this complex perspective, Barnard sees the presence of the new covenant most fully in Jesus's preisthood and sacrifice. Thus, the one thing that has clearly been absorbed or ended is the levitical cult ("Anti-Jewish," 43).

incarnation.[260] The author then cites LXX Ps 39:7–9. As noted in the chart below, Hebrews's citation differs in four ways from the Göttingen edition of the Septuagint, which has led scholars to attempt to recreate the author's Vorlage based on textual traditions.

Table 2 Comparison of Greek Translations of LXX Psalm 39:7–9

LXX (Göttingen)	Vorlage (van den Bergh[261])	Hebrews 10:5b–7
θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἠθέλησας, ὠτία δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι	θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἠθέλησας σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι	θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἠθέλησας, σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι·
ὁλοκαύτωμα καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας οὐκ ᾔτησας.	ὁλοκαυτώματα καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας οὐκ ἐζήτησας.	ὁλοκαυτώματα καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας οὐκ εὐδόκησας.
τότε εἶπον ἰδοὺ ἥκω, ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου γέγραπται περὶ ἐμου,	τότε εἶπον ἰδοὺ ἥκω ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου γέγραπται περὶ ἐμου	τότε εἶπον ἰδοὺ ἥκω, ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου γέγραπται περὶ ἐμου,
τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημά σου, ὁ θεός μου, ἐβουλήθην	τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημά σου ὁ θεός μου ἐβουλήθην	τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὁ θεός τὸ θέλημά σου.

First, Hebrews says, "Sacrifices and offerings you have not desired, but a body [σῶμα] you have prepared for me" (10:5b). Some LXX manuscripts also contain the word σῶμα in their translation, while others employ ὠτία to render the translation closer to the אָזְנַיִם of the MT: "ears [ὠτία] you have prepared for me" (Ps 39:7). Some scholars have argued that the author's Vorlage contained ὠτία, but the author altered the text to σῶμα to make a christological argument. As a result, Christian scribes later changed LXX manuscripts, so they were in keeping with Hebrews.[262] However, the best LXX manuscipts (e.g., א B A) read σῶμα, and the texts that contain ὠτία (e.g., La^{G} Ga) are late, probably revisions to bring the

260 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 273; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:214; Koester, *Hebrews*, 432; Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 186; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 230–31. Many scholars note that this phrase was used in Greek literature for entering through birth (Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:214–15; Martin Karrer, "LXX Psalm 39:7–10 in Hebrews 10:5–7," in *Psalms and Hebrews: Studies in Reception*, ed. Dirk J. Human and Gert J. Steyn, LHB/OTS 527 [London: T&T Clark, 2010], 129; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:214–15; Martin Karrer, "LXX Psalm 39:7–10 in Hebrews 10:5–7," in *Psalms and Hebrews: Studies in Reception*, ed. Dirk J. Human and Gert J. Steyn, LHB/OTS 527 [London: T&T Clark, 2010], 129; Gert J. Steyn, *A Quest for the Assumed LXX Vorlage of the Explicit Quotations in Hebrews*, FRLANT 235 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011], 294).

261 Ronald H. van der Bergh, "A Textual Comparison of Hebrews 10:5b–7 and LXX Psalm 39:7–9," *Neot* 42 (2008): 355–67, esp. 361.

262 Karen H. Jobes, "Rhetorical Achievement in the Hebrews 10 'Misquote' of Psalm 40," *Bib* 72 (1991): esp. 388.

translation into accord with the MT. The author's Vorlage, therefore, likely contained σῶμα.[263] Its presence in the Vorlage, however, does not diminish the importance of σῶμα in the author's use of the psalm.

Second, Hebrews uses the plural ὁλοκαυτώματα in 10:6. Textual traditions of the LXX are fairly split between the singular ὁλοκαύτωμα and the plural ὁλοκαυτώματα, so it is quite possible that the author's Vorlage contained the plural.[264]

Third, Hebrews uses εὐδόκησας in the phrase "in burnt offerings and sin offering you have taken no pleasure" (Heb 10:6). While LXX manuscripts contain ἐζήτησας, ᾔτησας, ηὐδόκησας, and ἠθέλησας, ἠθέλησας has weak external evidence, and ηὐδόκησας—bearing similarity to Hebrews's εὐδόκησας—is represented by textual traditions influenced by New Testament traditions.[265] Thus, the author's Vorlage likely contained either ἐζήτησας ("you did not ask for") or ᾔτησας ("you did not demand"), raising the question of why the author makes an intentional change to εὐδόκησας ("you have taken no pleasure"). Some have suggested that this change is the result of influence from LXX Ps 50:18, 21.[266] Further, the adoption of εὐδόκησας is also likely an attempt to bring the psalm in conformity with the author's interpretive statement in v. 8. The author notes that the sacrifices were offered according to the law (κατὰ νόμον); therefore, one can hardly say that God did not ask for or demand the sacrifices, because he required them by the νόμον.[267] Thus, the author's argument is that God did not take pleasure in them, just like he did not desire them (ἠθέλησας; v. 5b). Karen Jobes has also noted the christological connection between εὐδοκεῖν and significant moments in Christ's life (e.g., his baptism and transfiguration);[268] however, the author does not make any direct link to baptism or transfiguration in the rest of the text.[269]

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263 Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 138; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:305; Friedrich Schröger, *Der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes als Schriftausleger*, BibU 4 (Regensburg: Pustet, 1968), 174; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 274; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:255; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 500; Koester, *Hebrews*, 432–33; van der Bergh, "Ps 39," 357; Karrer, "Ps 39," 140–43; Steyn, *LXX Vorlage*, 286, 297; Jared M. Compton, "The Origin of ΣΩMA in Heb 10:5: Another Look at a Recent Proposal," *TJ* 32 (2011): 25–26; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 435–36; Walser, *Quotations*, 91–93, 135–36.

264 van der Bergh, "Ps 39," 358. Karrer, in contrast, says that the split tradition makes it impossible to build a theory of intentional correction on this variant ("Ps 39," 139).

265 van der Bergh, "Ps 39," 359–60.

266 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 274; Koester, *Hebrews*, 433; van der Bergh, "Ps 39," 373; Karrer, "Ps 39," 140; Compton, "ΣΩMA," 23.

267 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 274; van der Bergh, "Ps 39," 373; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 437.

268 Karen H. Jobes, "The Function of Paranomasia in Hebrews 10:5–7," *TJ* 13 (1992): 187–88.

269 van der Bergh, "Ps 39," 373–74.

Fourth, the author shortens the conclusion of the citation. Rather than saying that the speaker desires to do God's will (τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημά σου ... ἐβουλήθην) as in the psalm, the author omits ἐβουλήθην, so the infinitive is no longer connected to ἐβουλήθην but to ἥκω ("I have come"). Thus, Christ does not *intend* to do God's will, but he comes *in order to* do God's will.[270]

After the citation of the psalm, the author interprets the citation in vv. 8–10. His interpretation includes citing two portions of the psalm (with some modifications) followed by two brief statements. First, the author restates the first portion of the psalm citation: "You have neither desired nor taken pleasure in sacrifices and offerings and burnt offerings and sin offerings" (v. 8a). He reorders the verse to bring the verbs together and the list of offerings together. Further, the author makes all the references to sacrifices plural, likely to emphasize the general condemnation that he ascribes to the plurality of levitical sacrifices.[271] He follows this recitation of the psalm with a statement that, in a sense, tempers the critique of the levitical sacrifices. While God does not desire or take pleasure in the sacrifices, the author notes that they were offered according to the law (κατὰ νόμον). In keeping with the statements above relating to the interconnections between covenant, law, and sacrifice, the νόμον likely refers to the entire Torah; however, portions of the Torah dealing with levitical sacrifices are specifically in view.[272] Even though God did not desire them, he demanded that they be offered.

The interpretation in v. 9 contrasts that in v. 8 (ἀνώτερον-τότε), thereby showing the difference between the sacrifices that God does not desire and those that he wills. The author recites a portion of the psalm: "See, I have come to do your will." This citation is followed by the interpretive statement that "he abolishes the first in order to establish the second" (v. 9b). As with the reference to the νόμον, the πρῶτον and δεύτερον are references to the first and second covenants, but the sacrificial portion of those covenants is especially in view. Thus, the levitical system is abolished, while the sacrifice of Christ is established.

The author concludes his interpretation by saying, "It is by God's will that we have been sanctified through the offering of the body [σώματος] of Jesus Christ once for all [ἐφάπαξ]" (Heb 10:10). This phrase takes a salvific efficacy often associated with sacrifice and identifies it with the sacrifice of Christ.

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270 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 274; Jobes, "Paranomasia," 189; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 244–46.

271 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 275; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:264; van der Bergh, "Ps 39," 371.

272 See above, p. 142 n. 257.

The question, as it relates to this work, is how the author uses 10:5–10 and the citation of LXX Ps 39:7–9. Many scholars have argued that the author here demonstrates that God has rejected bloody sacrifice. In the place of bloody sacrifice, the author establishes a religion of interiority or of obedience. In contrast to the bloody, levitical sacrifices, Christ's offering was effective because it was done out of obedience.[273] Thus, Christ is not only the perfectly obedient one, but the author moves toward a religion of heart obedience.[274] In keeping with the prophetic critique, God does not desire sacrifices but purity of heart.[275] However, a movement from bloody sacrifice to interior religion does not appear to be the point of Heb 10:5–10. If the author wanted to make this point, he could have extended his citation to include the second half of LXX Ps 39:9, which reads, "Your law is within my belly [τὸν νόμον σου ἐν μέσῳ τῆς κοιλίας μου]."

Rather than rejecting bloody sacrifice, the author is demonstrating which kind of bloody sacrifice God intended. The author states that, although God mandated the levitical sacrifices, he did not desire (ἠθέλησας) them or take pleasure (εὐδόκησας) in them. In contrast, the will of God (τὸ θέλημά σου) calls for the offering of the body of Jesus Christ, an offering that the author describes elsewhere as a bloody sacrifice. Thus, the author does not contrast bloody sacrifice with obedience. Rather, the author contrasts the bloody sacrifice that God does not desire to the bloody sacrifice that he wills and desires. "The will of God does require a sacrifice, not simply the ethical obedience of man, but the self-sacrifice with which Jesus offered himself freely, the perfect victim and the perfect priest."[276]

This view of Heb 10:5–10 confirms the framework established above, because it demonstrates that, although God ordained the levitical sacrifices, what he desired all along was the sacrifice of Christ. Christ's sacrifice from the very beginning would be the divinely intended and divinely efficacious sacrifice. The author thereby demonstrates not "that the Old Covenant has been invalidated, but that, on the basis of its own testimony, it was never intended to be final.

273 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 260, 276–77; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:263; Koester, *Hebrews*, 438–39; van der Bergh, "Ps 39," 379–80; Karrer, "Ps 39," 145; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 244–45; cf. Walser, *Quotations*, 137–39.

274 Moffitt, *Atonement*, 244–46; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 441.

275 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 275; Steyn, *LXX Vorlage*, 296.

276 Moffatt, *Hebrews*, xli; similarly Richardson, *Pioneer*, 93–95; Walser, *Quotations*, 136–37; Compton, *Psalm 110*, 156.

That the covenant and its priesthood have always been typological and anticipatory, even if their true nature was not fully realized until the coming of Christ."[277]

277 Cockerill makes this statement about the author's use of the old covenant in general and not specifically about Heb 10:1–10 (*Hebrews*, 53).

5 Old Covenant Sacrifices

We now turn to an examination of Hebrews's view of the old covenant sacrifices. We will begin by examining the positive statements concerning the levitical sacrifices and then proceed to the critical statements, noting what the old covenant sacrifices were unable to accomplish. Based on the proposal from ch. 4, that the levitical sacrifices were sacramental types of Christ's sacrifice, we would expect the author to attribute positive efficacy to the levitical sacrifices, but also to describe those sacrifices as external rituals that had no efficacy themselves apart from Christ's sacrifice. Further, since the author can assume his audience understood the function of the heavenly sanctuary but would need to stress what is unique to the Christ-cult, we would expect the author to weight his argument toward the discontinuity and difference between the levitical and Christ sacrifices. The positive statements about the levitical sacrifices will be assumed in his argument.

5.1 What the Old Covenant Sacrifices Accomplished[1]

5.1.1 Old Covenant Sacrifices *for Sins*

In several locations, Hebrews notes that old covenant sacrifices were *for sins*. In Heb 5:1, the author states that "every high priest chosen from among mortals is put in charge of things pertaining to God [τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν], to offer gifts and sacrifices for sins [ἵνα προσφέρῃ δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν]." Some have suggested that δῶρα denotes peace or cereal offerings as a translation of מִנְחָה and θυσίας denotes bloody sacrifices as a translation of זֶבַח.[2] The Old Testament frequently brings these two terms together into the phrase זֶבַח וּמִנְחָה (1 Sam 3:14; Ps 40:7; Isa 19:21; Jer 17:26; Dan 9:27; Amos 5:25). It is possible, therefore, that the author here formulates a similar expression but in reverse.

However, it is more likely that the author uses the terms δῶρα and θυσίας generally to refer to all types of sacrifices. LXX traditions almost never pair δῶρον and θυσία to translate the phrase זֶבַח וּמִנְחָה. Further, the LXX does not limit δῶρον to the translation of bloodless sacrifices nor θυσία to the translation

1 For an earlier and shorter form of the arguments in this section, see Benjamin J. Ribbens, "The Positive Functions of Levitical Sacrifices," in *Studies in Hebrews*, ed. David Moffitt and Eric Mason (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming).

2 Westcott, *Hebrews*, 118; Peterson, *Perfection*, 81; cf. Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:108, 116.

of bloody sacrifices. Each term is used to refer to both bloody and bloodless sacrifices.[3] Both the LXX (e.g., Lev 2:1) and Hebrews (esp. 12:4) appear to use these two terms interchangeably or synonymously. If there is any distinction in meaning, it may be that δῶρον highlights the object of sacrifice whereas θυσία stresses the act of sacrifice. Together they represent a general appeal to all types and kinds of sacrifices, and Hebrews also uses this pairing in 8:3 and 9:9, creating a fixed expression to refer to all sacrifices (similar to *Let. Aris.* 234 [οὐ δώροις οὐδὲ θυσίαις]).[4]

Since δῶρα and θυσίας ought to be understood together as a general expression for all sacrifice, then the prepositional phrase ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν modifies both δῶρα and θυσίας and not solely the latter,[5] which suggests that the author is identifying sacrifice in general to be *for sins* and that ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν is not a slight modification of the technical term in the LXX for the sin offering (περὶ ἁμαρτίας).[6] According to the Pentateuch, not all sacrifices were for sins; however, the author of Hebrews here either speaks solely of those sacrifices that address sins or applies a primary function of the levitical cult to sacrifice in general. Such a generalization was not without precedent, as Ezekiel 45:15–17 applies

3 The LXX occasionally uses δῶρον to translate מִנְחָה (e.g., Gen 4:4); however, in Leviticus δῶρον is primarily used to translate קָרְבָּן ("offering, oblation"), where the קָרְבָּן may be grain (e.g., 2:1–13), bread (e.g., 7:13–16), or animals (e.g., 1:2, 3, 10, 14; 3:1–17; 4:23, 32; 5:11; 7:29; 17:4). Similarly, the LXX uses θυσία in a variety of manners. It translates אִשֶּׁה ("offering by fire"; e.g., Lev 1:9, 17), מִנְחָה ("grain offering"; e.g., Gen 4:3, 5; Lev 2:1–16; 5:13; 6:7–8, 13–16 [LXX]; 7:9–10), and זֶבַח ("sacrifice" generally; e.g., Lev 17:5, 7–8; 1 Kgs 8:62; Hos 6:6). It is paired with descriptive words to designate specific sacrifices: θυσία σωτηρίου (שְׁלָמִים; e.g., Lev 3:1–17; 4:10, 26, 31, 35; 7:20, 21, 29–34, 37; 17:5; Deut 27:7), θυσία εἰρηνικάς (שְׁלָמִים; e.g., 1 Sam 10:8; 1 Kgs 8:63–64), and θυσία αἰνέσεως (זֶבַח הַתּוֹדָה; e.g., Lev 7:12–15).

4 Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 62; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:107; Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 94; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 175; Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 130; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 143; Bruce, *Hebrews*, 89 n. 6; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 304; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 274; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 272–74; Koester, *Hebrews*, 285; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 108; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 190; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 233 n. 18.

5 Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 94; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 143; Bruce, *Hebrews*, 89; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 274–75; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 190; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 233 n. 18; cf. Peterson, *Perfection*, 81; contra Westcott, *Hebrews*, 118.

6 Bruce, *Hebrews*, 89; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 1:273–74. Ceslas Spicq suggests that ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν is a modification of the technical term περὶ ἁμαρτίας. The singular ἁμαρτίας becomes the plural ἁμαρτιῶν, because the sin offering on the Day of Atonement takes care of all sins (Lev 16:21; similarly Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 94), and the author changes περί to ὑπέρ in order to correspond or assimilate to ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων (Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:107).

the function of atonement (ἐξιλάσκεσθαι) to the sin offering, grain offering, burnt offering, and fellowship offering.[7]

The author does not explicitly state what the sacrifices accomplished regarding sins; however, atonement and forgiveness of sins may be implied.[8] First, as noted previously, the primary effects of sacrifices concerning sins—both in Leviticus and in Second Temple literature—are atonement and forgiveness. Second, as will be seen, the author later connects ἄφεσις with old covenant sacrifices. Third, there are strong parallels between 5:1 and 2:17. In 2:17, Christ is made the merciful and faithful high priest (ἀρχιερεύς) who serves concerning the matters pertaining to God (τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν) to make atonement for the sins of the people (εἰς τὸ ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ). Similarly, in 5:1 the high priest (ἀρχιερεύς) is appointed to serve concerning the matters pertaining to God (τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν) to offer gifts and sacrifices for sins (ἵνα προσφέρῃ δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν). The "matters pertaining to God" (τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν), therefore, appear to be directly related to atoning sins through sacrifice.[9] The mention of τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν in 5:1 along with describing sacrifices as addressing the problem of sin strongly implies that the old covenant sacrifices atoned for sins.[10] However, the author does not make this connection explicit.

Hebrews 5:3 also identifies levitical sacrifices as *for sins*. Because the high priest is subject to weakness and, therefore, sins (5:2), "he must offer sacrifice for his own sins [περὶ αὐτοῦ προσφέρειν περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν] as well as for those of the people [καθὼς περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ]" (5:3). Some scholars argue that περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν here identifies the sin offering in particular.[11] However, the technical term for the sin offering in the LXX is περί with the genitive singular ἁμαρτίας, whereas Heb 5:3 has περί with the genitive plural ἁμαρτιῶν. In Heb 10:6, 8, when quoting Ps 40:6(LXX 39:7), the technical term περί ἁμαρτίας identifies the sin offering. Additionally, the author employs the term himself in 13:11 to refer to the Day of Atonement sacrifice as a sin offering (cf. Lev 16:27). The author, therefore, appears to use the technical term περί ἁμαρτίας elsewhere in Hebrews in a way consistent with the LXX, thereby suggesting that περί ἁμαρτιῶν is not a modified

7 For the generalization of atonement to all sacrifices, see Knöppler, *Sühne*, 193; Christian Eberhart, *Studien zur Bedeutung der Opfer im Alten Testament: Die Signifikanz von Blut- und Verbrennungsriten im kultischen Rahmen*, WMANT 94 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2002), 218; Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 109 n. 33.

8 Weiss, *Hebräer*, 302; cf. Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 93; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 176; Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 130; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:116; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 190.

9 Westcott, *Hebrews*, 118; similarly Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 93; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 176; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:116; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 273; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 190.

10 Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 109; cf. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 143.

11 Weiss, *Hebräer*, 306 n. 18; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 278; Löhr, *Umkehr*, 11.

form of the technical term for the sin offering and does not refer to the sin offering. Rather, περί ἁμαρτιῶν is more likely used as an equivalent construction to ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν in 5:1 (cf. 7:27; 10:12, 26).[12] The high priest offers sacrifices *for sins*.[13]

Many scholars consider 5:3 to allude to the Day of Atonement.[14] Such a conclusion would appear to be certain since the Day of Atonement is the only ritual in which the high priest offers a sacrifice for himself *and* for the people and since the Day of Atonement dominates the author's discussion of the sacrificial system (cf. 9:7). However, this conclusion is not certain, because the high priest not only offered sacrifice on the Day of Atonement, but his sinfulness also required burnt offerings and sin offerings on other days of the year (Lev 4:3–12; cf. 9:7–14). The very point the author is making in this text is that the earthly high priests deal gently with the people, because they themselves are subject to the weakness of ignorance and going astray (5:2). Therefore, both the high priest and the people need sacrifice, and 5:3 does not refer to the Day of Atonement specifically but to the general need for sacrifices to deal with the sins of the high priest and the people.[15]

Hebrews 7:27 offers a statement similar to 5:3 that confirms the high priest's and people's general need for sacrifice. The author contrasts Christ to the other high priests, noting that Christ "has no need to offer sacrifices day after day [καθ' ἡμέραν], first for his own sins, and then for those of the people." This verse demonstrates that the author does not restrict the offering of sacrifices first for the high priest and then for the people to the Day of Atonement; however, it does create a problem, since the Pentateuch only identifies the high priest (in contrast to all priests) with the once-a-year sacrifices of the Day of Atonement and not with the daily sacrifices. Scholars have tried to identify what particular kind of sacrifice the author has in mind here (e.g., *tamid*, meal offering, guilt offering), but it seems more likely that the author intends to describe the general state under the old covenant cult.[16] The reason for the repeated sacrifices of the

12 Grässer, *Hebräer*, 1:273; cf. Braun, *Hebräer*, 132.

13 Westcott, *Hebrews*, 120; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 1:281.

14 Westcott, *Hebrews*, 120; Bruce, *Hebrews: Apology*, 180; Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 63; Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 94; Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 131; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 144; Bruce, *Hebrews*, 92; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:117; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 109; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 192; contra Grässer, *Hebräer*, 1:281.

15 Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 277; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 1:281–82; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 188; Koester, *Hebrews*, 287; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 236 n. 32.

16 Cf. Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 342–43. This conclusion is different than saying that the author takes the Day of Atonement sacrifices and generalizes, conflates, or assimilates them to the daily sacrifices (see Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 395; Koester, *Hebrews*, 367; O'Brien, *Hebrews*,

high priest is the same reason as in 5:3—i. e., the weakness of both the high priest and the people. They are weak and sinful every day, thereby necessitating sacrifice to address their sinful situation. The high priest, just like the rest of the people, had to offer sacrifices for his own sins (Lev 4:3 – 12).[17] That the high priest would offer his sacrifice first before offering the sacrifice for the people is simply a natural progression as demonstrated in Lev 9:7 – 14 and Lev 16:6, 11. Before atoning for the people, the high priest atones for himself so as to not bring guilt on the people (Lev 4:3). Further, the description of the levitical high priest's sacrifices as καθ' ἡμέραν functions as a foil for the high priesthood of Christ, who is without sin and offers sacrifice only once (ἐφάπαξ).[18]

Ultimately, what is most pertinent to the present discussion is that Hebrews 7:27, just like 5:3, says that the high priest offers sacrifices *for sins* (ὑπὲρ ... ἁμαρτιῶν [7:27]; περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν [5:3]). Again, the author does not state what he thinks the sacrifices accomplished as they relate to sin; however, it is significant that the author acknowledges that the very purpose of the sacrifices was to address the problem of sin and that they were not simply external purifications. Forgiveness and atonement may again be implied, since Leviticus and Second Temple literature highlight these effects.[19] If 5:3 alludes specifically to the Day of Atonement, as some propose but as found unlikely above, forgiveness and atonement might be even more strongly implied;[20] however, all sacrifices *for sins* in the Pentateuch achieve forgiveness and atonement. Thus, a general reference to sacrifices *for sins* makes as strong an appeal to the effects of forgiveness and atonement as an allusion to the Day of Atonement would.

In Heb 9:7 and 13:11, the author makes brief allusions to the Day of Atonement sacrifices and identifies them as offered for sins. Hebrews 9:7 notes that only once a year the high priest enters the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atone-

282). The author is not confusing the daily and annual sacrifices, but he is making a statement about the perpetual need for sacrifice.

17 F. F. Bruce also argues that Leviticus 4 may lay behind the need for the high priest to sacrifice daily, by noting that inadvertent sins may have been a daily hazard (*Hebrews*, 157; contra Attridge, *Hebrews*, 214).

18 Some scholars argue that here the author is not concerned with a precise description of the levitical cult but is instead simply using this description of the levitical cult as a foil for Christ's cult (Weiss, *Hebräer*, 423; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:70 – 71; cf. Braun, *Hebräer*, 225). Similarly, Fuhrmann describes the author's statement in 7:27 as "hyperbolische" (*Vergeben*, 130).

19 For those who note the atoning function of old covenant sacrifices when discussing Heb 5:3 and 7:27, see Hughes, *Hebrews*, 276; Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 207; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:193 – 94; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 192.

20 For those who highlight the connection between Heb 5:3 and the atoning function of the Day of Atonement, see Weiss, *Hebräer*, 306 esp. n. 19; Koester, *Hebrews*, 297.

ment. However, he does not enter without blood, which he offers "for himself and for the sins the people had committed in ignorance." The blood alludes to the Day of Atonement sin offering. The high priest took the blood of the goat into the Holy of Holies, thereby offering the sacrifice for the sins of the people. Once again, the author does not articulate what the sacrifices did concerning the sins, but the context of the Day of Atonement allusion implies atonement and forgiveness.[21] One of the new developments in this text beyond 5:3 and 7:27 is the emphasis on blood. "Not without blood" alludes to the blood canon[22] that is articulated in 9:22. Similarly, Hebrews 13:11 refers to the sin offering performed on the Day of Atonement, mentioning that "the high priest carries the blood of animals into the Most Holy Place as a sin offering [περὶ ἁμαρτίας], but the bodies are burned outside the camp." Here the blood is specifically identified as having come from the sin offering, and the technical term for the sin offering (περὶ ἁμαρτίας)[23] as well as the function of the sin offering connote efficacy for sin.

5.1.2 Old Covenant Sacrifices and Forgiveness

In Hebrews 9:22, the author provides an axiomatic statement that connects old covenant sacrifices with ἄφεσις. He says, "Under the law almost everything is purified [καθαρίζεται] with blood, and without the shedding of blood there is no forgiveness [ἄφεσις] of sins." This statement functions as a pivot/hinge, summarizing ideas about the role of blood in the old covenant and transitioning into the role of blood in Christ's new covenant sacrifice. The author states that the "first covenant was not put into effect without blood" (v. 18). Moses took the blood of calves—together with water, scarlet wool, and branches of hyssop—and sprinkled the blood on the scroll and on all the people (v. 19). Similarly, Moses sprinkled the tabernacle and all ceremonial utensils with blood (v. 21). These descriptions exemplify the first half of the axiomatic statement of 9:22—"under the law almost everything is purified with blood."[24] The author goes

21 Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 117; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 239; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:222; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 434; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:128; Koester, *Hebrews*, 397; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 277; Joslin, *Law*, 228.
22 Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:128–29; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 455.
23 For περὶ ἁμαρτίας as a reference to the sin offering on the Day of Atonement, see Westcott, *Hebrews*, 439; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:426–27; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 575; Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 418–19; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 397; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 712–13; Koester, *Hebrews*, 570; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 522.
24 O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 334.

on to apply this principle to Christ's sacrifice. If the earthly sanctuary needed to be purified, then likewise the heavenly things need to be purified (v. 23).

The second half of the axiomatic statement—"without the shedding of blood there is no forgiveness [ἄφεσις]"—follows naturally in a discussion of the importance of blood. Most scholars consider this phrase a reiteration of the blood canon of Lev 17:11: "For the life of all flesh is its blood, and I have given it to you for making atonement [ἐξιλάσκεσθαι] for your souls on the altar, for it is its blood that makes atonement [ἐξιλάσεται] for the soul" (NETS).[25] This maxim is central to Leviticus's sacrifice theology and is reiterated in later Jewish writings.[26] All atoning sacrifices required blood. The author of Hebrews articulates this principle but in his own terms. Rather than referring to blood in general (αἷμα), he speaks of αἱματεκχυσία, and, rather than using the verb ἐξιλάσκεσθαι, he speaks of ἄφεσις. Both of these unique terms require further attention.

Αἱματεκχυσία provides a unique challenge for interpreters, because Heb 9:22 is the first occurrence of this term in extant Greek literature. For this reason, some have proposed that the author here creates a neologism,[27] whereas others think this term may have been a traditional term used in Greek-speaking Judaism.[28] The singularity of this term creates difficulty in determining its precise meaning, as two options prevail. First, it could denote the application of blood on the altar that occurs during sacrifice.[29] In the LXX of Leviticus, the verb ἐγχεῖν (a cognate of ἔκχυσις) is used in construction with αἷμα several times (Lev 4:7, 18, 25, 30, 34; 8:15; 9:9; cf. Exod 29:12), where it always refers to pouring blood on the altar. Second, αἱματεκχυσία could refer to the slaughter of a sacrificial victim. In 1 Kgs 18:28 and Sir 27:15, the noun ἔκχυσις is found in construction with αἵματος to refer to bloodshed—the pouring out of blood that kills a person. Although the

25 Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 259–60; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 258; Bruce, *Hebrews*, 217 n. 144; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:246; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:128–29; Di Giovambattista, *Giorno dell'espiazione*, 190–91.

26 *Jub.* 6:7–8, 12–13; 7:27–33; 21:6, 17–20; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.205; 3.150; 4.122–23; *Worse* 91–92; *Heir* 55; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.102; 3.260; *b. Yoma* 5a; *b. Menahot* 93b; *b. Zevahim* 8a, 26b, 36a, 36b, 51a, 51b, 61, 89b; *Sifra* 4:9.

27 Cf. Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 130; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:265; Johnsson, "Defilement," 320–21; Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 261; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 259; Bruce, *Hebrews*, 217 n. 143; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:232; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:185; Koester, *Hebrews*, 420; Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 267; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 190.

28 Hughes, *Hebrews*, 378 n. 28; cf. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 259.

29 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:265; T. C. G. Thornton, "The Meaning of αἱματεκχυσία in Heb. ix.22," *JTS* 15 (1964): 63–65; Johnsson, "Defilement," 322–24; Braun, *Hebräer*, 279–80; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 482 n. 32; Lindars, *Hebrews*, 94 n. 96; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 474; Koester, *Hebrews*, 420; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 418; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 291–92 n. 157.

LXX never places ἔκχυσις and αἷμα in construction to speak of the bloodshed of a sacrificial victim (only of people), it is possible that Heb 9:22 does use it in this way.[30] This latter interpretation is supported by the connection between blood and death in Heb 9:16 – 21. Ultimately, αἱματεκχυσία most likely refers to the application of blood since vv. 19 – 21 speak of the sprinkling of blood that purified the scroll, people, and tabernacle (cf. 9:13). In addition, the cultic background of Hebrews 9 and the likely allusion to the blood canon of Lev 17:11 suggest that αἱματεκχυσία should be read with the cultic background and levitical texts so that it refers to the application or manipulation of blood.[31] Still, it may be that deciding between these two options is unnecessary, as αἱματεκχυσία may function synecdochically to allude to the whole of the sacrificial act, which includes both the slaughter (pouring out of the blood *from the animal*) and the blood manipulation (pouring out of the blood *onto the altar*).[32] Further, with either meaning, the main point of the passage is that the giving of life—either exemplified through slaughter or through the application of the blood—is necessary for ἄφεσις.[33]

The term ἄφεσις has both a general-profane ("release") and a particular-cultic ("remission of sins") meaning. The profane sense dominates the usage in Hellenistic Greek,[34] and the LXX uses this term solely in its profane sense, even in Lev 16:26 where it refers to the release of the scapegoat (cf. ἀφιέναι in Lev 16:10).[35] Hebrews 9:22 uses ἄφεσις absolutely (not in construct with any other

30 Behm, "αἱματεκχυσία," *TDNT* 1:176 – 77; Norman H. Young, "Αἱματεκχυσία: A Comment," *ExpTim* 90 (1979): 180; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:185; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 410. For the use of the verb ἐγχεῖν with αἷμα to refer to killing humans or animals, see Gen 37:22; Lev 17:4; Num 35:33.

31 While Leviticus often speaks of atonement and forgiveness resulting from the sprinkling of blood (ῥαίνειν; 4:17; 5:9; 14:16, 27; 16:14, 15, 19), the sin offerings discussed in Leviticus 4 do not always mention sprinkling, but always mention *pouring out blood* (ἐγχεῖν). The sin offerings described in vv. 1 – 12 and vv. 13 – 21 mention sprinkling (προσρανεῖ in v. 6; ῥανεῖ in v. 17) followed by putting (ἐπιθεῖναι) blood on the horns of the altar and pouring (ἐγχεῖν) the rest of the blood out at the base of the altar. The remaining sin offerings described in vv. 22 – 26, 27 – 31, and 32 – 35 do not mention sprinkling but continue to describe the ἐπιθεῖναι and ἐγχεῖν of blood (vv. 25, 30, 34), which results in atonement and forgiveness (vv. 26, 31, 35; cf. 8:15). Thus, the αἷμα ἐκχεεῖ (v. 34) is a regular part of the blood ritual for the sin offering that achieves atonement.

32 Cf. Thornton, "αἱματεκχυσία," 65.

33 Behm, *TDNT* 1:177.

34 While some sources speak of the release from a debt or punishment (e.g., Plato, *Laws* 9:869D; Demosthenes, *Orations* 24, 45), such usages never occur in a religious context (Bultmann "ἀφίημι, κτλ," *TDNT* 1:509; cf. Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 158).

35 Johnsson, "Defilement," 326 – 27; cf. Koester, *Hebrews*, 420; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 159.

terms), which is similar to its general-profane usage in the LXX. As a result, some scholars have argued that ἄφεσις in Heb 9:22 does not refer to the forgiveness of sins but has the general-profane sense. Brooke Westcott argues that ἄφεσις refers to the release "not so much from special sins as from the bondage of which wrongdoing is a result. In this sense 'cleansing' is to a certain degree opposed to 'release.' The one marks the removal of the stain, the other the enabling for action."[36] William Johnsson, in contrast, appeals to the general sense of ἄφεσις to argue for a close connection between purification and ἄφεσις. Since ἄφεσις is sandwiched between two occurences of the verb καθαρίζειν, Johnsson argues that the general meaning "to release," paired with a context that emphasizes purity, results in the meaning "definitive putting away" (of defilement) or "decisive purgation."[37]

However, ἄφεσις in 9:22 more likely denotes the forgiveness of sins.[38] The main argument against this conclusion is that ἄφεσις is used absolutely with no mention of "sin" or its equivalent in the immediate context, leading some to argue that the author is careful precisely "to avoid stating that the old cultus offered forgiveness of *sins*, in any real sense of the word."[39] Yet, several considerations overcome this shortcoming and affirm the meaning *forgiveness*. First, the cognate verb ἀφιέναι is used throughout the LXX for the forgiveness or remission of sins. Most notably ἀφιέναι translates סָלַח throughout Leviticus's descriptions of the efficacy of sacrifice (e. g., Lev 4 – 5; 19:22; cf. Num 15:25, 28; 15:26). Second, Philo uses ἄφεσις to refer to the *forgiveness of sins* that comes as a result of bloody animal sacrifice (*Mos.* 2.147; *Spec. Laws* 1.190, 215, 237), thereby demonstrating that ἄφεσις could be used in this sense in first-century Jewish Greek. Third, the term ἄφεσις in apostolic preaching refers to the forgiveness of sins. Only once does ἄφεσις have its general meaning "release" in the New Testament,

36 Westcott, *Hebrews*, 269.

37 Johnsson, "Defilement," 326 – 28; similarly Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:232, 246; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 472 – 74; cf. Koester, *Hebrews*, 420. Johnsson goes so far as to say that "'forgiveness' is a category outside the conceptual scheme of Hebrews" (Johnsson, "Cultus," 106). Johnsson also identifies ἄφεσις as the summation of previously listed benefits including access, inauguration, and purgation. However, Scott Mackie notes the inconsistency of this position in that forgiveness and purification are needed to achieve access—the culmination of the soteriological chain (Mackie, *Eschatology*, 188).

38 Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 130; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:265 – 66; Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 158; Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 261; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 259; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 482 esp. n. 33; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:185 – 86; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 410; Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 267; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 160; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 335.

39 Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 472; similarly Johnsson, "Defilement," 325 – 28; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:232, 246.

and this usage occurs in Luke 4:18, which is a quotation of Isa 61:1–2 that alludes to the freedom for the prisoners and oppressed. In the other thirteen occurrences of ἄφεσις, the New Testament authors speak of the forgiveness of sins (usually in construction with a noun for sin such as ἁμαρτία or παράπτωμα).[40] Fourth, ἄφεσις can be used absolutely and still refer to the remission of sins. Mark 3:29 uses ἄφεσις absolutely, but it is clear from the context that remission of sins is meant because the notion of sin (ἁμάρτημα) is supplied by the context. Therefore, the meaning *forgiveness* or *remission* (of implied sins) is not entirely dependent on a grammatical construction but can be derived from the context. Fifth, the context of Heb 9:22 strongly suggests the meaning *forgiveness*. The cultic context and mention of bloodshed strongly suggest reference to sacrifice and its efficacy of forgiveness. Further, the author applies the axiomatic statement of 9:22 to Christ's new covenant sacrifice; therefore, when the author demonstrates how Christ's sacrifice addresses the problem of sin, the implication is that the ἄφεσις in 9:22 concerned sins. Sixth, if 9:22 is a reiteration of the blood canon of Lev 17:11, then 9:22 is concerned with the removal of sin through sacrifice. While Lev 17:11 uses the verb *atonement* (ἐξιλάσκεσθαι), Hebrews draws on the notion of *forgiveness*, which is paired with atonement throughout Leviticus. Thus, ἄφεσις almost certainly means *forgiveness*.

Hebrews 9:22, therefore, functions as a general principle that was applicable under the old covenant (κατὰ τὸν νόμον) and is applicable in the new covenant.[41] Of note, then, in our discussion of the old covenant sacrifices is the author's programmatic assumption that old covenant sacrifices achieved the forgiveness of sins.

Many scholars have highlighted the fact that this very assumption seems to be in tension with the author's statements elsewhere. Hebrews 10:4 and 10:11 are most often cited as contradictory to 9:22, because the author in those two places says that the old covenant sacrifices were never able to take away sins (ἀδύνατον … ἀφαιρεῖν ἁμαρτίας [v. 4]; οὐδέποτε δύνανται περιελεῖν ἁμαρτίας [v. 11]), which these scholars identify with forgiveness. Erich Grässer and Jordi Cervera i Valls consider these statements in ch. 10 to relativize or entirely negate the effect of sacrifices as a help against sin.[42] Such scholars propose that the principle of

40 Matt 26:28; Mark 1:4; 3:29; Luke 1:77; 3:3; 24:47; Acts 2:38; 5:31; 10:43; 13:38; 26:18; Eph 1:7; Col 1:14.

41 E.g., Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 172.

42 Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:186, cf. 2:205, 210, 213; Jordi Cervera i Valls, "Jesús, gran sacerdot i víctima, a Hebreus: Una teologia judeocristiana de la mediació i de l'expiació," *RCT* 34 (2009): 498. Similarly Stylianopoulos, "Shadow and Reality," 224–25; Attridge, *Hebrews*,

9:22 establishes the *manner*—not without blood—by which forgiveness happens, but the author ultimately judges the old covenant sacrifices negatively in terms of their *effect*.[43]

While Heb 10:4 and 10:11, along with other statements critical of the old covenant cult, raise questions (addressed below) for the statement here in 9:22, it seems best to allow 9:22 to stand as a programmatic statement describing the connection between sacrifice and forgiveness,[44] especially since the author appears to have been working with this logic previously in the statements that sacrifice was *for sins* (5:1, 3; 7:27; 9:7).[45]

Hebrews 10:18 affirms this connection between old covenant sacrifices and the forgiveness of sins. After noting that the old covenant sacrifices could "never take away sins" (v. 11) and that Christ's heavenly sacrifice enacts the promises of the new covenant, the author states that "where there is forgiveness [ἄφεσις] of these, there is no longer any offering for sin [προσφορὰ περὶ ἁμαρτίας]." The demonstrative pronoun τούτων ("these") refers to sins (ἁμαρτιῶν) and lawless deeds (ἀνομιῶν), which God no longer remembers under the new covenant (10:17). Thus, by means of the demonstrative pronoun τούτων, ἄφεσις is in construction with nouns for sin; therefore, ἄφεσις here clearly refers to the forgiveness or remission of sins.[46] The connection between ἄφεσις and sin is affirmed by the second half of the phrase, which attests a cultic context (προσφορά) that addresses the problem of sin (περὶ ἁμαρτίας). Where there is forgiveness of sins, therefore, there is no longer need for a προσφορὰ περὶ ἁμαρτίας. The προσφορὰ περὶ ἁμαρτίας, again, is not a reference to a specific kind of sacrifice (i. e., the sin offering), but it refers to any sacrifice that is *for sins*.[47] The sacrifices

258 – 59; Joslin, *Law*, 252; cf. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 472; Di Giovambattista, *Giorno dell'espiazione*, 146; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 311; Knöppler, *Sühne*, 206, 211; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 482 n. 31.

43 Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:186.

44 Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 131; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 289, 418; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 215; Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 172 – 73; cf. Isaacs, *Sacred Space*, 92; Koester, *Hebrews*, 427.

45 Rascher and Gäbel note the application of the blood canon in 9:7, 18 (Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 172 – 73; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 418).

46 Westcott, *Hebrews*, 316; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:234; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 158 – 60; Fuhrmann, "Failures Forgotten," 302; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 188. Contra Johnsson, "Defilement," 350 – 51; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:269; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 459. Since "it seems incontestable that 10:18 echoes 9:22b as its corollary," Johnsson argues that ἄφεσις must again mean "definitive putting away," as it did in 9:22b ("Defilement," 350).

47 Lane and O'Brien suggest that the term προσφορά refers particularly to the sacrifice of Jesus, since this term is used for his self-offering in 10:14 (Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:269; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 360). However, προσφορά in 10:14 originates for the author from the quotation of Ps 40:6 – 8, where the term refers to the old covenant offerings (Heb 10:5, 8), and the author uses its cognate verb προσφέρειν to refer to both old covenant and new covenant sacrifice.

for sins achieved the function of ἄφεσις; however, the author now notes that, if this function is already provided, there is no longer any need for sacrifices for sins—i.e., there is no longer need for any cultic practice. Due to Christ's sacrifice, the old covenant cult is discontinued.[48]

Hebrews 10:18, therefore, is the inevitable result of Hebrews's cult criticism. The old covenant cult and its atoning function are no longer necessary. This negative conclusion concerning the old covenant cultic system often results in the assumption that the author strips old covenant sacrifices of any efficacy.[49] However, the author is working with the principle established in 9:22. The very act of bringing up the old covenant sacrifices in the context of the need for forgiveness demonstrates the author's assumption that the levitical sacrifices accomplished ἄφεσις. The old covenant sacrifices achieved forgiveness of sins, and based on this pattern Christ's sacrifice achieved forgiveness of sins. Christ's sacrifice, however, is superior to the old covenant sacrifices, in part because Christ's sacrifice had an ongoing effect. His sacrifice was once for all, not needing repetition. Since Christ's sacrifice attained a perpetual forgiveness, there is no longer need for the old covenant sacrifices that also achieved forgiveness. That Christ's sacrifice is greater does not diminish the assumption here that the old covenant sacrifices achieved forgiveness of sins. It is not that old covenant sacrifices achieved something less than forgiveness, while Christ achieved *true* forgiveness.[50] Rather, Christ's sacrifice achieved an efficacy greater than that of the old covenant sacrifices, which includes the fulfillment of the new covenant promises (see discussion below), and this great efficacy included the same efficacy that old covenant sacrifices achieved—i.e., ἄφεσις.

5.1.3 Other Considerations

We have seen so far that the author identifies the levitical sacrifices as *for sins*, which suggested the effects of atonement and forgiveness. Further, in 9:22 and 10:18 the author makes the connection between forgiveness and levitical sacrifice explicit. We now list further considerations that confirm the author's positive view of the levitical sacrifices.

Therefore, the term is here likely used generally with the old covenant sacrifices particularly in mind. The author is noting the cessation of old covenant sacrifices and is not stating (at this point in his argument) that Christ's self-offering cannot happen a second time (see 10:26–31).

48 Hughes, *Hebrews*, 404; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 282; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:234.

49 E.g., Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 131.

50 Joslin, *Law*, 236, 252.

First, as noted in the previous chapter, the author understood the levitical sacrifices to be commanded by God in the law. In 8:4, the author notes that the earthly priests "offer gifts according to the law [κατὰ νόμον]." Likewise, in 10:8 the author states that the sacrifices, offerings, burnt offerings, and sin offerings "are offered according to the law [κατὰ νόμον]." The author clearly attests the fact that the levitical sacrifices were ordained by God, which—as we will discuss next—suggests that they achieved the efficacy that was ascribed to them in the law (νόμον). "The point then is that, whether or not the blood-ritual has any value in itself, it is what is prescribed in the Law for atonement and thus has divine sanction for the period of operation of the old covenant."[51]

Second, the author and audience were avid readers of Scripture and, therefore, would have understood that the levitical sacrifices achieved atonement and forgiveness of sins. As noted earlier, these two efficacies were attributed to sacrifice repeatedly in the LXX, and Second Temple Jewish texts continued to ascribe these efficacies to sacrifices. No Jewish texts deny the sacrifices these efficacies, and, if they note what sacrifice accomplishes, they resoundingly affirm these salvific realities. The sacrificial system played an important role in the life of every Jewish believer, even those in Diaspora.[52] The author of Hebrews clearly knows the Septuagint and identifies it as the words of God (e.g., Heb 1:5), and he acknowledges that these words contained the commandments for the levitical cult. Therefore, while Hebrews does reinterpret the Old Testament in light of the revelation of the Son (Heb 1:1–2), it seems unlikely that the author would deliberately revise and manipulate the details of cultic regulations to malign the levitical institution, its theology, or its efficacy.[53] In addition, if Hebrews's audience was well-versed in the Scriptures, they also would have known the sacrificial rites, so that malicious revisions of the levitical practices would not have been rhetorically effective. Hebrews's exposition of the levitical cult "must have been acceptable to his recipients otherwise his argument would not be convincing."[54] Thus, it seems likely that the author and audience maintained a positive view of the old covenant sacrifices, at least in terms of their function and efficacy under the old covenant.

Third, the levitical sacrifices—esp. the Day of Atonement—are the model for Christ's sacrifice. For this reason, the author must have understood them to ach-

51 Lindars, *Hebrews*, 94; cf. Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 135 regarding 8:4.

52 Lindars, *Hebrews*, 85.

53 Isaacs, *Sacred Space*, 68–69; Joslin, *Law*, 203.

54 Kiwoong Son, *Zion Symbolism in Hebrews: Hebrews 12:18–24 as a Hermeneutical Key to the Epistle*, PBM (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 2005), 23. Son makes this statement regarding the author's interpretation of Scripture in general and not specifically about levitical sacrifice.

ieve some efficacy. Christ's sacrifice must follow the pattern of the levitical sacrifice for it to be accepted as an atoning sacrifice.[55] If the author did not think old covenant sacrifices achieved anything, there is no benefit to arguing that Christ followed the pattern of the levitical sacrifices, because following the model of inefficacious rituals would not suggest that the new action achieves any efficacy.

It may help to understand the comparison of the levitical sacrifices and Christ's sacrifice in rhetorical terms as an example of *synkrisis*, which "is a traditional device of encomiastic Greek and Latin rhetoric: the person, or object, to be praised is placed beside outstanding specimens of comparable kind and his, or its, superiority ('ὑπεροχή') urged."[56] In this way, Hebrews compares Christ's sacrifice to the levitical sacrifices because the levitical institution is esteemed. Due to the reverence ascribed to the God-ordained levitical institution, the author seeks to demonstrate the superiority of Christ's sacrifice, so the readers understand the worth of the sacrifice greater than those of the highly regarded levitical institution. The author uses synkrisis to demonstrate why one would want to persevere and not fall away from the superior (10:19 – 39). Thus, the rhetoric of synkrisis does not diminish the value of the old covenant sacrifices, but it is the positive understanding of the levitical sacrifices that creates the foundation for the synkrisis.

55 Lindars, *Hebrews*, 94.

56 Günther Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), 286. Typical characteristics of synkrisis include μέν-δέ contrasts, *qal wahomer* arguments, arguments of superiority (κρείττων), and the application of the comparison through paraenesis. Hebrews's discussion of sacrifice includes all of these: μέν-δέ in 8:4 – 6; 9:1 – 14; 9:6 – 7; 9:23; 10:11 – 12; a *qal wahomer* argument in 9:13 – 14; the use of κρείττων in 8:6 and 9:23; and the application through paraenesis in 10:19 – 39. For discussions of synkrisis in Hebrews, see Thomas H. Olbricht, "Hebrews as Amplification," in *Rhetoric and the New Testament: Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Thomas H. Olbricht, JSNTSup 90 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), 375 – 87; Timothy W. Seid, "Synkrisis in Hebrews 7: The Rhetorical Structure and Strategy," in *The Rhetorical Interpretation of Scripture: Essays from the 1996 Malibu Conference*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Dennis L. Stamps, JSNTSup 180 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 323 – 47; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 48; Ben Witherington, *Letters and Homilies for Jewish Christians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on Hebrews, James and Jude* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2007), 48; Eric F. Mason, "The Epistle (Not Necessarily) to the 'Hebrews': A Call to Renunciation of Judaism or Encouragement to Christian Commitment?," *PRSt* 37 (2010): 13 – 16; also Michael W. Martin and Jason A. Whitlark, "The Encomiastic Topics of Syncrisis as the Key to the Structure and Argument of Hebrews," *NTS* 57 (2011): 415 – 39; idem, "Choosing What Is Advantageous: The Relationship between Epideictic and Deliberative Syncrisis in Hebrews," *NTS* 58 (2012): 379 – 400; Brian C. Small, *The Characterization of Jesus in the Book of Hebrews*, BIS 128 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 134 – 36.

Thus, although many scholars have argued that the author denies the levitical sacrifices any efficacy,[57] these considerations suggest that the author does consider the levitical sacrifices to have had a positive function and efficacy during the time of the νόμος, the time of the old covenant. The efficacies ascribed to the old covenant sacrifices are inevitably atonement and forgiveness.

5.2 What the Old Covenant Sacrifices Did Not Accomplish

Having looked at what the old covenant sacrifices *did* accomplish, we turn now to look at what, according to Hebrews, they *did not* or *could not* accomplish. Portions of Hebrews's criticism of the old covenant cult are quite severe, which has resulted in most scholars concluding that the author of Hebrews considers the old covenant cult to have always been completely ineffectual. These statements appear to stand in tension with the observations made in the previous section and provide our proposal with some difficulties. For the sake of organizing this section, we will begin by looking at three salvific goods that Hebrews clearly states the old covenant sacrifices could not provide: (1) access to God, (2) perfection, and (3) redemption. Once establishing these principles, we will proceed to those critical statements that, in the view of this author, are more difficult to undertand.

5.2.1 Access to God

Access to God is a central theme of Hebrews. The addressees are frequently exhorted to approach God (4:16; 10:19–22; cf. 7:19) and are also described as "those who approach God" (7:25). The ability to approach God, as will be noted below, comes through Jesus, which implies that the ability to approach God did not exist under the old covenant and was not made possible through the old covenant cult.

Hebrews 9:1–10 describes the inability of the old covenant cult to bring believers into the divine presence. This passage has a tight structure. Verse 1 notes that, under the first covenant, there were both regulations for worship (δικαιώματα λατρείας) and an earthly sanctuary (τό ἅγιον κοσμικόν). Verses 2–5 de-

57 E.g., Di Giovambattista, *Giorno dell'espiazione*, 146; I. Howard Marshall, *New Testament Theology: Many Witnesses, One Gospel* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2004), 312; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 205; Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 180–81; cf. Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:206; Knöppler, *Sühne*, 211.

scribe the structure and contents of the earthly tabernacle with its first tent (ἡ πρώτη) the Holy Place and its second tent the Most Holy Place. After describing the earthly sanctuary, the author proceeds in vv. 6–10 to discuss the regulations for worship that took place within it (v. 6 λατρείας; v. 10 δικαιώματα).

Verses 6–7 discuss the ministry that takes place in the first and second tents. In the first tent, many priests enter continuously (διὰ παντός) to carry out their ministry (τὰς λατρείας ἐπιτελοῦντες) (v. 6). In contrast, the high priest alone enters the Holy of Holies and only once a year (ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ).[58] The author also notes that the high priest does not enter the Holy of Holies "without blood" (χωρὶς αἵματος). The priests did not need anything special to enter the Holy Place, but they entered to perform numerous activities that did not require blood. In contrast, the high priest needed blood to enter the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement, and he offered the blood for himself and for the sins (ἀγνοημάτων[59]) of the people. Verse 7 is the first time Hebrews uses αἷμα in a cultic context (cf. 2:14, "flesh and blood"), and it anticipates and prepares for the author's emphasis on the necessity of blood.[60]

In v. 8, the author draws a theological conclusion from the levitical system he has just described. The Holy Spirit was using the levitical structure to show that the way into the Holy of Holies (τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ὁδόν) had not been revealed while the Holy Place had legal standing. The earthly Holy of Holies was the dwelling place and throne room of God. The divine presence that is always present in the heavenly sanctuary was provisionally present in the tabernacle's Holy of Holies.[61] While the levitical high priest entered the Holy of Holies once a year,

58 It became customary to speak of the Day of Atonement and the high priest's entrance into the Most Holy Place as happening *once a year.* Leviticus 16:34 concludes its description of the Day of Atonement saying that it ought to take place "once a year" (ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ). Similarly, Exod 30:10 speaks of the atonement that happens for the altar of incense, which happens on the Day of Atonement, as happening ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. Building on the LXX usage related to the Day of Atonement, Philo and Josephus both describe the high priest as being able to enter the Most Holy Place only once a year (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.72; *Drunkenness* 136; *Giants* 52; *Embassy* 306; Josephus, *J.W.* 5.236). Thus, Hebrews's description of the high priest entering the Most Holy Place ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ is not born out of ignorance about the Day of Atonement ritual; rather, it reflects traditional language for the Day of Atonement (Sowers, *Philo and Hebrews*, 69–70), which likely highlights that the high priest enters one *day* each year (esp. Philo, *Embassy* 306–7). The author is not concerned with describing the multiple entrances but desires to highlight its singularity in anticipation of his description of Christ's sacrifice (Attridge, *Hebrews*, 239; Koester, *Hebrews*, 396).

59 For a discussion of ἀγνόηματα, see 202–5.

60 Weiss, *Hebräer*, 455; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:128–29.

61 When the author speaks of τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ὁδόν, scholars often conclude that the author is referring to the heavenly sanctuary (Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 118; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:253–54; Hughes,

the access permitted to one person per year does not show the openness of the earthly Holy of Holies but the lack of access.[62] Even the high priest did not have free access to the divine presence. Rather, he entered according to regulation and then only once a year, and he was shielded from the divine presence by the cloud of incense (Lev 16:12–13).[63]

This lack of access persists as long as the first tent has standing (ἔτι τῆς πρώτης σκηνῆς ἐχούσης στάσιν). Scholars debate both the meaning of τῆς πρώτης σκηνῆς and ἐχούσης στάσιν. The *first tent* may refer to either the Holy Place (in contrast to the Holy of Holies)[64] or the entire earthly sanctuary (in contrast to the heavenly sanctuary).[65] The former option is the most likely, because *first tent* (πρώτη σκηνή) has been used in 9:2, 6 to refer to the Holy Place, where-

Hebrews, 322; Loader, *Sohn*, 163; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 438; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:132; Joslin, *Law*, 229; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 381; cf. Johnsson, "Defilement," 281; Peterson, *Perfection*, 133; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 240; Lindars, *Hebrews*, 87; Koester, *Hebrews*, 397; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 281). While the author has been speaking of the earthly tabernacle, it is possible that the term ὁδόν anticipates 10:19–20 (Attridge, *Hebrews*, 240; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 438), which speaks of a "new and living way [ὁδόν]" that provides the means by which believers can enter the heavenly Holy of Holies. However, 9:1–14 uses a μέν-δέ structure to contrast the earthly cult to the heavenly. The author does not introduce the heavenly sanctuary until 9:11. Further, the vertical/spatial distinction should be maintained here and not collapsed into a temporal scheme. The earthly tent is the copy of the heavenly. The author does not collapse the earthly Holy of Holies into the heavenly (see D'Angelo, *Moses*, 229). Therefore, it is best to see the earthly Holy of Holies operative here. Still, the earthly Holy of Holies was considered the presence of God, where he provisionally manifested himself in the earthly realm.

62 Bruce, *Hebrews: Apology*, 319–20; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 240; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 313.

63 Nicholas Moore argues against the conclusion that Heb 9:7 demonstrates the inaccessibility of the Holy of Holies. The author has just noted when and for whom there is accessibility, and readers should not understand this as the exception that proves the rule (*Repetition*, 181–82). Further, Moore notes what this line of reasoning would mean for Christ's sacrifice: "if an entrance once a year represents restricted access, then an entrance once-for-all surely means *even less* access" (*Repetition*, 184). However, there is a key difference between how the levitical high priest is described in comparison to Christ. Christ is the forerunner (πρόδρομος; 6:20) into the Holy of Holies who creates access for those who follow him (Heb 10:19–22), whereas the high priest does not create any further access, but the high priest's actions end all access to the Holy of Holies until the next year when only the high priest can enter once again.

64 Westcott, *Hebrews*, 252; Buchanan, *Hebrews*, 144–45; Hofius, *Vorhang*, 62–63; Johnsson, "Defilement," 281; MacRae, "Heavenly Temple," 189; Young, "Hebrews 9," 200–201; Loader, *Sohn*, 163–64; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 240; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:216, 223; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:132; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 96–98, 149–55; Joslin, *Law*, 229, 248; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 313; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 381.

65 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:253–54; Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 147–48; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 322–23; Peterson, *Perfection*, 133; Bruce, *Hebrews*, 194–95; Hurst, *Background*, 26–27; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 438–39; Koester, *Hebrews*, 405.

as the latter interpretation requires one to shift the meaning of πρώτη from a spatial to a temporal sense denoting the tent/sanctuary of the first covenant (cf. πρώτη in 9:1). However, these two options result in very similar readings of the passage. Those who consider τῆς πρώτης σκηνῆς to be the entire sanctuary argue that the way into the presence of God was not available as long as the earthly sanctuary has standing, because the first covenant, its earthly cult, and worship did not provide for the possibility of access to the divine presence.[66] On the other hand, those who consider τῆς πρώτης σκηνῆς to be the Holy Place argue that the Holy Place is the portion of the earthly tabernacle that acts as a barrier to the presence of God so that, as long as the earthly cult under the first covenant had standing, there would not be access to God.[67] In addition to the debate over the *first tent*, scholars also disagree over whether ἐχούσης στάσιν means *physical existence*[68] or *legal standing*.[69] The latter meaning is preferred. The author in 9:1–14 is contrasting two cultic orders—the earthly cult and the heavenly cult. He does not care about the existence of a sanctuary but what happens while that sanctuary has legal standing. Further, the rest of Hebrews's argument demonstrates that access to God is not restricted until the physical tabernacle or temple is destroyed, but it is restricted until the Christ-cult gains legal standing, thereby ending the legal standing of the earthly cult. Thus, the author argues that access to the divine presence was not possible as long as the levitical cult—as exemplified either by the Holy Place or the earthly tabernacle—had legal standing.

There is great debate concerning the remainder of this passage (vv. 9–10). The author states that "this [ἥτις] is an illustration for the present time, according to which [καθ' ἥν] gifts and sacrifices being offered were not able to perfect [τελειῶσαι] the conscience of the worshiper; they are merely foods, drinks, and various washings—i.e., regulations of the flesh applying until the time of the new order" (my translation). Nearly every word and phrase in these two verses is contested, and we will address portions of these verses later in this chapter. For instance, τελειῶσαι will be addressed in the next section, and v. 10 is addressed under "Regulations of the Flesh." For this reason, we will address these two verses only briefly here, giving a general sketch of how these verses hold together as a complete argument.

66 Esp. Koester, *Hebrews*, 405.

67 Esp. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 240; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:223.

68 E.g., Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 439; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:132; cf. Schenck, *Cosmology*, 153–55.

69 E.g., Westcott, *Hebrews*, 252; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 240; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:216; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 301; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 280; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 176; Joslin, *Law*, 248; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 313.

Scholars have offered several proposals concerning the referent of ἥτις: (1) τῆς πρώτης σκηνῆς;[70] (2) the whole phrase "as long as the first tent has standing";[71] (3) ὁδόν;[72] or (4) στάσις.[73] The referent is significant, because it determines what the illustration (παραβολή) is. Option 2 is unlikely. When Hebrews uses the pronoun ὅστις, there is always a clear referent, not a general reference to an entire clause with the gender and number determined by a word outside the referent (i.e., παραβολή). Option 3 is possible, but it seems unnecessary to find the referent all the way back with ὁδόν, when a valid option exists in the clause immediately preceding the pronoun and when ὅστις in Hebrews consistently finds its antecedent in the immediate context.[74] Option 4 is also possible and is the closest possible referent. However, this reading requires an arduous rendering of στάσις as "status as a decree."[75] Since the entire passage beginning with 9:2 has contrasted the first and second tent, it is most likely that the author has been building up to describing the τῆς πρώτης σκηνῆς as a παραβολή, not the στάσις which has just been introduced. Thus, option 1 seems to be the best option, so that the first tent is a παραβολή—an illustration.

The phrase παραβολὴ εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ἐνεστηκότα has also caused significant debate. Some scholars understand εἰς in the sense of *with reference to*, so that the παραβολή is *about* the present time, giving an illustration of its nature.[76] As a result, many of these scholars consider the "present time" to refer to the

70 Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 118; Young, "Hebrews 9," 201; Braun, *Hebräer*, 260; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 241; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:224; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 439; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:134; Steve Stanley, "Hebrews 9:6–10: The 'Parable' of the Tabernacle," *NovT* 37 (1995): 389; Koester, *Hebrews*, 398; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 302; Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 147, 153, 158–59; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 177; Joslin, *Law*, 247 n. 106; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 313.

71 Bruce, *Hebrews*, 195 n. 60.

72 Cortez, "Most Holy Place," 538–39.

73 Clare K. Rothschild, "Παραβολή in Hebrews," in *Hermeneutik der Gleichnisse Jesu: Methodische Neuansätze zum Verstehen urchristlicher Parabeltexte*, ed. Ruben Zimmermann and Gabriele Kern, WUNT 231 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 268–69.

74 The referent of the pronoun ὅστις throughout Hebrews comes in the clause immediately preceding it (2:3; 8:5, 6; 10:8, 11, 35; 12:5; 13:7). The one possible exception is in 9:2, where "in which [ἐν ᾗ] is the lampstand and table and bread of presence" stands in between ἥτις and its referent ἡ πρώτη σκηνή. The distance here is mitigated, however, by the fact that ἡ πρώτη σκηνή is being modified by two clauses introduced by relative pronouns, thereby explaining the distance between ἥτις and its referent in a way uncommon to the author (contra Cortez, "Most Holy Place," 538–39).

75 Rothschild, "Παραβολή," 368.

76 Westcott, *Hebrews*, 252–53; Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 149; Gerd Theissen, *Untersuchungen zum Hebräerbrief*, SNT 2 (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1969), 69; Hofius, *Vorhang*, 64; Young, "Hebrews 9," 201–2, 205; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:134; Cortez, "Most Holy Place," 538–40 n. 51.

time of the old covenant in contrast to "the time of reformation" (καιροῦ διορθώσεως), the time of the new covenant.[77] It seems more likely that "present time" refers to the time of the author.[78] Still, the author does not appear to want to state anything *about* the present time and, therefore, does not have in mind any characteristic of the present time—whether understood as the time of the new covenant or the time of overlap between the ages.[79] Rather, the author appears to use εἰς in the sense of *for, in,* or *throughout*. The παραβολή is *for* the present age—i.e., in/during the present time the first tent functions/serves as a παραβολή. The author is not contrasting the "present time" with another time but states that presently ("for the present") the first tent is an illustration.

Of what, then, is the first tent an illustration? The first tent, as discussed above, demonstrates that access to the divine presence was not possible under the first covenant and its cultic order.[80] The first tent is a παραβολή of the levitical cult's insufficiencies, most prominently in this passage in terms of access to God. Since the inability to approach God was the result of sin and the sinful condition of humanity, implicitly present in this παραβολή is the levitical cult's inability to deal ultimately with sin.

The next clause draws a conclusion from the παραβολή: "according to which [καθ' ἥν] gifts and sacrifices are offered that cannot perfect the conscience of the worshiper" (v. 9b). The antecedent of ἥν is likely παραβολή[81] but could also be σκηνῆς.[82] The flow of the argument suggests that "which is a parable of the pres-

77 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:254; Hofius, *Vorhang*, 64; Young, "Hebrews 9," 201; Loader, *Sohn*, 164–65; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:224; George H. Guthrie, *Hebrews*, NIVAC (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998), 300; Cortez, "Most Holy Place," 537; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 280; Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 153, 159–60; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 98.

78 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 241; Koester, *Hebrews*, 398; Rothschild, "Παραβολή," 370; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 314–15. The phrase εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ἐνεστηκότα is used to denote "the present" in Polybius, *Histories* 1.60.9; 21.3.3; Philo, *Migration* 43.

79 Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 118; Otfried Hofius, "Das 'erste' und das 'zweite' Zelt: Ein Beitrag zur Auslegung von Heb 9:1–10," *ZNW* 61 (1970): 276–77; Laub, *Bekenntnis*, 193–94; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 241; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 458–60; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 440–41; Stanley, "Parable," 394; Koester, *Hebrews*, 398, 405–6; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 84–87; Joslin, *Law*, 248; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 314–15.

80 Thompson, *Beginnings*, 108; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:224; Stanley, "Parable," 393–98; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 302; Cortez, "Most Holy Place," 537; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 86; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 177; Joslin, *Law*, 249.

81 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 242; Stanley, "Parable," 397; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 177.

82 Young, "Hebrews 9," 201; Peterson, *Perfection*, 258 n. 32; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:223–24; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 439, 441; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 315. That there is little difference between the two in terms of the interpretation of the passage, see Koester, *Hebrews*, 398; Joslin, *Law*,

ent time" is not simply a parenthetical remark (as would be the case if σκηνῆς were the antecedent)[83] but is a key part of the argument. With παραβολή as the likely antecedent, the σκηνή is a παραβολή demonstrating the insufficiency of the first tabernacle and first cultic order, and, in accordance with this insufficiency, the gifts and sacrifices of the levitical cult were insufficient, not being able to perfect the worshiper according to the conscience. Having shown in this section that the old covenant sacrifices were unable to grant believers access to the divine presence, we turn at this point to an examination of the notion of perfection in Hebrews.

5.2.2 Perfection

Hebrews 9:9 is one of nine places in Hebrews (also 2:10; 5:9; 7:19, 28; 9:9; 10:1, 14; 11:40; 12:23) that uses the verb τελειοῦν (*to perfect*; cf. τελείωσις in 12:2).[84] Perfection is "the most controversial concept of the soteriology of Hebrews,"[85] and recent scholarship has not produced scholarly consensus but scholarly polyphony.[86] The verb τελειοῦν formally means *to complete*, *to bring to an end*, or *to accomplish*.[87] The word is very versatile and, when paired with other words, can have many different referents (see Appendix). The determination of its referent, therefore, depends on the context that establishes the kind and quality of the *completion* that τελειοῦν identifies.

Hebrews's use of τελειοῦν can be divided into three categories: (1) the perfection of Christ (2:10; 5:9; 7:28), (2) the inability of the old covenant and its in-

247 n. 106. In keeping with the flow of her argument, Rothschild argues that the antecedent is στάσις ("Παραβολή," 370).

83 E.g., Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 118.

84 Hebrews also employs cognates of this verb: τέλειος (5:14; 9:11), τελειότης (6:1), τελείωσις (7:11), and τελειωτής (12:2).

85 Rissi, *Theologie des Hebräerbriefs*, 102 (my translation).

86 Peterson, *Perfection*; Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 185 – 200; John R. Walters, *Perfection in New Testament Theology: Ethics and Eschatology in Relational Dynamic*, MBPS 25 (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1994); Gordon J. Thomas, "The Perfection of Christ and the Perfecting of Believers in Hebrews," in *Holiness and Ecclesiology in the New Testament*, ed. Kent E. Brower and Andy Johnson (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 293 – 310; Kevin B. McCruden, "Christ's Perfection in Hebrews: Divine Beneficence as an Exegetical Key to Hebrews 2:1," *BR* 47 (2002): 40 – 62; Kevin B. McCruden, *Solidarity Perfected: Beneficent Christology in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, BZNW 159 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008); Fuhrmann, "Christ Grown into Perfection," 92 – 100.

87 BDAG 996; cf. MM 629; LSJ 1770; Delling "τελειόω," *TDNT* 8:79; H. Hübner, "τελειόω," *EDNT* 3:344.

stitutions to perfect believers (7:19; 9:9; 10:1; cf. 7:11), and (3) the perfection of believers by Jesus (10:14; 11:40; 12:23). Since the focus of this work is the efficacy of old and new covenant sacrifices *for believers*, our focus is on the latter two categories—both the inability of the law and the ability of Christ to make the believers perfect. There is, however, the question of to what extent the perfection of Christ ought to inform our discussion on the perfection of believers.

While many scholars think Hebrews uses τελειοῦν consistently (i. e., that it refers to the same thing each time it is used), there is a growing number of scholars who consider τελειοῦν to have diverse referents. This diversity takes two forms. First, some think Christ's perfection has a consistent referent (2:10; 5:9; 7:28), and the believers' perfection has a consistent referent (7:19; 9:9; 10:1, 14; 11:40; 12:23), but the perfection of Christ describes a different reality than the perfection of believers.[88] Second, there are those who think that each occurrence of τελειοῦν is unique. Its referent should not be shaped by the other occurrences but only by its immediate context.[89]

Several arguments militate against a duality or plurality of referents for τελειοῦν. First, all nine occurrences of τελειοῦν follow a general pattern: a person or persons is the object of τελειοῦν, and τελειοῦν is accomplished by another (in the case of Jesus, the Father; in the case of believers, Jesus). Second, the whole of Hebrews forms the context for determining the referent of each instance of τελειοῦν. Therefore, one cannot interpret τελειοῦν only in light of its immediate context without also interpreting it in light of the author's other uses of τελειοῦν and his "overall theological emphases."[90] Third, to make the meaning of τελειοῦν dependent exclusively on its immediate context makes τελειοῦν simply a mirror of the context. It demands that Hebrews does not invest τελειοῦν with a material application. Fourth, τελειοῦν is not simply a convenient descriptor emphasizing a contextual reality; instead, Hebrews uses τελειοῦν to describe a significant messianic and soteriological reality, which suggests that the author has a specific messianic and soteriological reality in mind and that τελειοῦν is being

88 E.g., Marshall, "Soteriology in Hebrews," 261 – 63.

89 Peterson, *Perfection*, 46, 66; Pamela M. Eisenbaum, "The Virtue of Suffering, the Necessity of Discipline, and the Pursuit of Perfection in Hebrews," in *Asceticism and the New Testament*, ed. Leif E. Vaage and Vincent L. Wimbush (London: Routledge, 1999), 343; James Kurianal, *Jesus Our High Priest: Ps. 110,4 as the Substructure of Heb 5,1 – 7,28*, EH 23/693 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2000), 227; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 163 – 70; cf. Eduard Riggenbach, "Der Begriff der τελείωσις im Hebräerbrief: Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Einwirkung der Mysterienreligion auf Sprache und Gedakenwelt des Neuen Testament," *NKZ* 34 (1923): 195; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 161 – 62.

90 Peterson, *Perfection*, 46. This comment actually militates against his individualistic approach.

used consistently to appeal to that reality.[91] Fifth, the messianic (perfection of Jesus) and soteriological (perfection of believers) realities are intricately related. Due to Christ's perfection, he becomes the founder (ἀρχηγόν; 2:10) and source (αἴτιος; 5:9) of the believers' salvation (σωτηρίας; 2:10). Jesus, the founder (ἀρχηγόν) and perfecter (τελειωτήν) of our faith (12:2), is then able—through his sacrifice—to perfect (τετελείωκεν) those who are being made holy (10:14).[92]

Thus, τελειοῦν is most likely used consistently,[93] which has two implications for the proceeding examination of Hebrews's use of τελειοῦν. First, unless there are strong contextual indicators to suggest that τελειοῦν is not used consistently, a consistent interpretation will be preferred to proposals that require τελειοῦν to take on multiple referents. Second, although the perfection of believers is what is relevant to this work, the texts discussing the perfection of Christ will be drawn on to evaluate whether an interpretation of τελειοῦν can also explain the Christ texts. However, due to the limitations of this work, there will not be a full discussion of Christ's perfection or the interpretive difficulties in those texts.[94]

5.2.2.1 Perfection as Moral or Ethical Development

There are four main proposals for the interpretation of the perfection of believers. First, some think τελειοῦν refers to moral or ethical development.[95] Perfection "is synonymous with a growing moral goodness faithful to God in every test, resisting apostasy at every level."[96] Thus, Christ's "sufferings both tested and,

91 Loader, *Sohn*, 46.

92 Paul Johannes Du Plessis, *Teleios: The Idea of Perfection in the New Testament* (Kampen: Kok, 1959), 211, 224.

93 Martin Dibelius, "Der himmlische Kultus nach dem Hebräerbrief," in *Botschaft und Geschichte* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1953), 2:165; Loader, *Sohn*, 44 – 46.

94 For an in depth discussion of these issues, see esp. Peterson, *Perfection*; McCruden, *Solidarity Perfected*.

95 Westcott, *Hebrews*, 65 – 67; Alvin A. Ahern, "The Perfection Concept in the Epistle to the Hebrews," *JBR* 14 (1946): 164 – 67; Du Plessis, *Teleios*, 216 – 23; Allen Paul Wikgren, "Patterns of Perfection in the Epistle to the Hebrews," *NTS* 6 (1960): 159 – 67; H. K. La Rondelle, *Perfection and Perfectionism: A Dogmatic-Ethical Study of Biblical Perfection and Phenomenal Perfectionism*, AUM 3 (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1971), 193 – 96; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 187 – 88; Walters, *Perfection*, 83 – 153; Eisenbaum, "Suffering," 345; Timothy J. Winder, "The Sacrificial Christology of Hebrews: A Jewish Christian Contribution to the Modern Debate about the Person of Christ" (Ph.D. diss., University of Leeds, 2005), 126 – 46; Thomas, "Perfection and Perfecting," 304 – 8; cf. Riggenbach, "Τελείωσις," 195; Otto Michel, "Die Lehre von der christlichen Vollkommenheit nach der Anschauung des Hebräerbriefes," *TSK* 106 (1934 – 1935): 350 – 51.

96 Walters, *Perfection*, 147.

victoriously endured, attested his perfection, free from failure and defect."[97] While Christ was able to achieve moral perfection, the perfection of humanity creates a paradox for Hebrews. "Though perfect in Christ, [believers'] achievement of perfection is a continuing process."[98]

While Hebrews does demand rigorous morality,[99] several considerations suggest that τελειοῦν for Hebrews is not a description of moral or ethical development. First, Hebrews describes Jesus as sinless (χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας; 4:15), innocent (ἄκακος; 7:26), unstained (ἀμίαντος; 7:26), set apart (κεχωρισμένος; 7:26), and blameless (ἄμωμος; 9:14); thus, Jesus had no need for moral or ethical improvement.[100] Second, while Christ's suffering (2:10; 5:9) and learning obedience (5:8; 10:7, 9) are significant to his priestly role (4:15), they do not include moral or ethical development.[101] Third, Hebrews describes perfection passively—neither Christ nor believers perfect themselves. Rather, God perfected Christ, and Christ perfected believers (5:9; 7:28; 10:14; 11:40; 12:23).[102] Perfection has nothing to do with a person's moral or ethical achievement.

5.2.2.2 Perfection as Cultic Consecration

Second, some think τελειοῦν refers to cultic consecration.[103] This proposal is based primarily on the argument that τελειοῦν became a *terminus technicus*

97 Hughes, *Hebrews*, 88.

98 Ahern, "Perfection," 165.

99 2:1–4; 3:12–19; 4:11–13; 5:11–6:12; 10:19–39; 13:1–19.

100 Julius Kögel, "Der Begriff τελειοῦν im Hebräerbrief im Zussamenhang mit dem neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch," in *Theologische Studien für M. Kähler* (Leipzig: Deichert, 1905), 41, 55, 62, 65–66; Käsemann, *Wandernde Gottesvolk*, 86–87; Anthony Hoekema, "The Perfection of Christ in Hebrews," *CTJ* 9 (1974): 31; Loader, *Sohn*, 39; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 86; Kurianal, *High Priest*, 224; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 163–64; McCruden, *Solidarity Perfected*, 19. Du Plessis, however, argues that the "development of such [moral or ethical] faculties need not imply prior imperfection" (*Teleios*, 216).

101 Loader, *Sohn*, 39; Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 188.

102 Rissi, *Theologie des Hebräerbriefs*, 102; Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 188; Kurianal, *High Priest*, 224; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 163–64; McCruden, *Solidarity Perfected*, 22. In Heb 2:10, God is the subject of τελειοῦν. In Heb 5:9, 7:28, 10:14, 11:40 and 12:23, the divine passive is used.

103 Delling, *TDNT* 8:80–84; Theodor Häring, "Über einige Grundgedanken des Hebräerbriefs," *MPT* 17 (1920): 260–76; Theodor Häring, "Noch ein Wort zum Begriff τελειοῦν im Hebräerbrief," *NKZ* 34 (1923): 386–89; Dibelius, "Himmlische Kultus," 2:161–76, esp. 166; Hoekema, "Perfection," 31–37. For those who adopt this position in part, see Olaf Moe, "Der Gedanke des allgemeinen Priestertums im Hebräerbrief," *TZ* 5 (1949): 165–68; Moises Silva, "Perfection and Eschatology in Hebrews," *WTJ* 39 (1976): 60–71; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:57, 122, 195; Albert Van-

for consecration in the LXX due to its use in the phrase τελειῶσαι τὰς χεῖρας. The Hebrew phrase מִלֵּא יָדָם, *to fill the hands*, expressed the consecration of priests, and the LXX at times used τελειῶσαι τὰς χεῖρας to translate this phrase. However, the verb τελειοῦν independent of τὰς χεῖρας never became a technical term for priestly consecration (see Appendix). If τελειοῦν has a cultic meaning in Hebrews, this meaning cannot be derived from the LXX but must be derived from Hebrews itself.[104]

Not only does this interpretation lack a lexical foundation, but it is also unable to explain all of the perfection texts in Hebrews.[105] Moises Silva, who himself adopts (in part) the cultic consecration proposal, notes its inability to "be carried through consistently."[106] The perfection of Christ (2:10; 5:9; 7:28) could conceivably be explained in terms of his consecration or ordination into his priestly office. Likewise, the perfection of believers in 10:14 could be cultic consecration. The texts that deny the old covenant and its institutions the ability to perfect believers (Heb 7:19; 9:9; 10:1; cf. 7:11), however, are more difficult to mesh with cultic consecration. For instance, Heb 7:11 states that τελείωσις was not attainable through the levitical priesthood. It is unlikely that τελείωσις here refers to consecration, since consecration was in fact attainable for the levitical priesthood. To maintain the identification of τελείωσις with consecration, one would have to surmise that τελειοῦν identifies a different kind of consecration than that present in the levitical priesthood,[107] and such an argument is not present in Hebrews. The texts that cause the greatest problem for the cultic consecration proposal are 11:40 and 12:23, in which the old covenant πρεσβύτεροι (11:2) are described as continually seeking after the promise, yet not attaining τελειοῦν until the new covenant believers are perfected. It is unlikely, especially in light of Hebrews's argument, that the πρεσβύτεροι were anticipating cultic consecration. For this reason, Delling, who adopts the cultic consecration proposal, ar-

hoye, "La 'teleiôsis' du Christ: Point capital de la Christologie sacerdotale d'Hébreux," *NTS* 42 (1996): 321–38; Di Giovambattista, *Giorno dell'espiazione*, 186.

104 Peterson, *Perfection*, 26–30, here 30; also Riggenbach, "Τελείωσις," 190–92; Loader, *Sohn*, 47; Rissi, *Theologie des Hebräerbriefs*, 79; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 85; Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 190–92; Kurianal, *High Priest*, 221; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 164; McCruden, *Solidarity Perfected*, 16.

105 Silva, "Perfection," 62; Loader, *Sohn*, 40–47; Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 192; cf. Du Plessis, *Teleios*, 213.

106 Silva, "Perfection," 62.

107 Dibelius contends that τελειοῦν is not just any consecration but the *perfecting consecration* (vollende Weihe), the consecration that allows Christ and believers to enter the heavenly sanctuary ("Himmlische Kultus," 2:165–66).

gues that τελειοῦν is used differently in these instances to refer to "proximity to God."[108]

5.2.2.3 Perfection as Direct Presence of God

Third, some think τελειοῦν refers to "the direct and unmediated presence of God"—i.e., being brought into the heavenly sanctuary.[109] If, as we have argued, τελειοῦν generally means *to bring to an end or goal*, then it is appropriate to ask what the primary goal is in Hebrews—the goal that the old covenant could not bring the believers to but the new covenant could.

The primary goal in Hebrews is access to God in the heavenly sanctuary, which is evidenced in a number of ways. First, Psalm 110, which Hebrews uses to describe Jesus's exaltation into the heavenly sanctuary where he sits on the throne, is foundational to the book's Christology (Heb 1:13; 8:1; 10:12–13; 12:12). Second, access themes pervade the whole of Hebrews: Jesus is exalted into heaven, by being crowned with glory and honor (δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ; 2:9); God brings "many sons to glory" (εἰς δόξαν) (2:10); Jesus is the pioneer (ἀρχηγόν) of salvation (2:10; 12:2); and believers draw near (προσέρχεσθαι; 4:16; 7:25; 10:1, 22; 11:16; 12:18, 22) and enter into (εἰσέρχεσθαι; Heb 3:11, 18, 19; 4:1, 3, 5, 6, 10, 11; 6:19, 20; 9:12, 24, 25; 10:5). Third, the highlighted deficiency of the old covenant and its cultic institutions is its inability to draw believers near to God (Heb 7:19; 9:9), and the better hope of the new covenant is the ability to bring the worshipers to God (cf. Heb 7:19; 10:19–22). Thus, the goal to which Christ and believers could be completed or perfected is entrance into the heavenly Holy of Holies.

The connection between τελειοῦν and access to God is evident in each perfection text that describes the inability of the old covenant. In 7:18–19, Hebrews contrasts the old covenant's inability to τελειοῦν with the new covenant's better

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108 Delling, *TDNT* 8:83; similarly Moe, "Gedanke," 166–68; Dibelius, "Himmlische Kultus," 2:165; Silva, "Perfection," 66–67 n. 14; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 207–9; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:181, 185; 2:224–25, 267–68; Vanhoye, "Teleiôsis," 331–32, 338; Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 181–83.
109 Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 185–207, here 198; also Kögel, "Τελειοῦν im Hebräerbrief," 37–68; Schierse, *Verheissung*, 155–57; Käsemann, *Wandernde Gottesvolk*, 85–89; George B. Caird, "Just Men Made Perfect," *LQHR* 191 (1966): 89–98; Johnsson, "Defilement," 260–66; Dey, *Patterns of Perfection*, 215–33; Charles Carlston, "The Vocabulary of Perfection in Philo and Hebrews," in *Unity and Diversity in New Testament Theology*, ed. Robert A. Guelich (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 146–48; Loader, *Sohn*, 43–45; Rissi, *Theologie des Hebräerbriefs*, 102–3; Lindars, *Hebrews*, 44–47; Isaacs, *Sacred Space*, 102–3; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:204–5, 230–31; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 195–96.

hope "through which we draw near [ἐγγίζομεν] to God."[110] In 9:9, the tabernacle is identified as a παραβολή illustrating the inability to attain access under the first covenant, during which "gifts and sacrifices are offered that cannot perfect [τελειῶσαι] the conscience of the worshiper." The old covenant sacrifices were unable to grant the believers access into the sanctuary. In 10:1, Hebrews states that those who sought access to God by drawing near (προσερχομένους) to the sanctuary ultimately were not brought into God's presence (τελειῶσαι). A connection between τελειοῦν and access to God is also present in 2:10, where Christ's perfection is connected to glorification in two ways. First, Christ's exaltation—i.e., being crowned with glory (δόξῃ) and honor—happens διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου in 2:9, which is paralleled to Christ being perfected (τελειῶσαι) διὰ παθημάτων in 2:10. Second, the author finds it fitting that God, who brings many sons to glory (δόξαν; i.e., entrance into the divine presence), perfected (τελειῶσαι) Christ, who is the founder of their salvation. This fittingness establishes an implicit connection between perfection and entering the heavenly sanctuary (ἄγω εἰς δόξαν).[111]

Thus, Hebrews appears to use τελειοῦν to refer to entrance or access into the heavenly sanctuary. For Christ, τελειοῦν is his glorification as a fulfillment of Psalm 110, and for believers τελειοῦν is access to God as representative of the "*consummation* of men and women in a permanent, direct and personal relationship with God."[112] In order to perfect believers, all barriers had to be removed, which took place through purification (καθαρίζειν), sanctification (ἁγιάζειν), and taking away sins (ἀφαιρεῖν [περιαίρεῖν] ἁμαρτίας; 10:4, [11]). Thus, while τελειοῦν is related to καθαρίζειν and ἁγιάζειν, καθαρίζειν and ἁγιάζειν are preconditions to τελειοῦν and not τελειοῦν itself.[113]

110 For those who equate τελειοῦν in this passage with fellowship with God, see Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 98; Du Plessis, *Teleios*, 230; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 265; Carlston, "Perfection," 147; Loader, *Sohn*, 41; Rissi, *Theologie des Hebräerbriefs*, 103.

111 Others who view 2:9 and 10 as parallel include Schierse, *Verheissung*, 154; Laub, *Bekenntnis*, 72; Loader, *Sohn*, 43; Rissi, *Theologie des Hebräerbriefs*, 79; Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 84; Kurianal, *High Priest*, 228.

112 David Peterson, *Possessed by God: A New Testament Theology of Sanctification and Holiness*, NSBT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 36; similarly Kögel, "Τελειοῦν im Hebräerbrief," 56; Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 95, 98; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:231; Lindars, *Hebrews*, 46.

113 Moe, "Gedanke," 165–67; Koester, *Hebrews*, 120–25; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 196.

5.2.2.4 Perfection as the Totality of Salvation

Fourth, although having argued that τελειοῦν refers to access to God, we must acknowledge a fourth proposal that has gained significant traction in recent scholarly works. Some scholars think the τελειοῦν of believers is the "totality of Christ's work for believers on every occasion" or "the enjoyment of the time of fulfillment, the new epoch introduced by the Messiah through his exaltation."[114] In this manner, τελειοῦν includes all new covenant salvific goods and can describe direct access to God, but the term is considered broader than access to God alone and may also be used to describe purification, sanctification, or the attainment of eschatological rest.

This position is affirmed by those who do not think Hebrews applies τελειοῦν consistently, because the totality of salvation cannot explain the perfection of Christ. God does not bring Christ into the totality of salvation. Thus, to affirm this position, one must at least distinguish between the perfection of Christ and the perfection of believers.[115] As noted above, interpreting the τελειοῦν texts inconsistently is not ideal, especially when access to God allows for a coherent, consistent interpretation of τελειοῦν. Thus, this proposal fails to recognize that Hebrews uses τελειοῦν to identify a distinctive messianic and salvific reality.

As it relates to the perfection of believers, it is very difficult to distinguish between interpretations of τελειοῦν as access to God and as the totality of salvation, because the difference between these two options is subtle. Either perfection is access to God, of which purification, sanctification, and the taking away of sins are conditions; or perfection is the whole new covenant reality—purification, sanctification, and the taking away of sins, which culminates in access to God. Where the difference between these two interpretations has a more significant impact on interpretation is in Heb 11:40 and 12:23, where perfection may include a future reality beyond the present salvific efficacy.[116]

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114 Peterson, *Perfection*, 126–67 and Silva, "Perfection," 68, respectively. Similarly, Attridge, *Hebrews*, 242, 272–73, 352; Koester, *Hebrews*, 122–25; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 168; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 67–73.

115 Although Peterson interprets each text individually, he describes Christ's perfection as vocational equipping, whereas the perfection of believers is "the totality of Christ's work for believers on every occasion" (Peterson, *Perfection*, 126; see also, Attridge, *Hebrews*, 86–87, 242, 272–73, 352; Marshall, "Soteriology in Hebrews," 261–63). Barnabas Lindars attempts to maintain the continuity between Christ's and believers' perfection by describing perfection as "the position which belongs to the completion of God's plan" (*Hebrews*, 45)—a definition that includes the vocational perfection of Christ and the totality of salvation for believers.

116 See below, pp. 215–18.

5.2.2.5 Conclusion

This author considers τελειοῦν to refer to access to God. However, in terms of the discussion here—the inability of the old covenant sacrifices to attain perfection—there is very little difference between this position and that which identifies τελειοῦν with the totality of salvation. In 7:18–19 (cf. 7:11) and 10:1, both positions agree that τελειοῦν clearly refers to access to God. As a result, the other salvific goods of the new covenant are presumed along with this access, either because they are preconditions to access to the divine presence (access to God position) or because they are identified by the term τελειοῦν (totality of salvation position).

Hebrews 9:9 creates some difficulty for identifying τελειοῦν with access to God. Hebrews says that the gifts and sacrifices are offered that *cannot perfect the worshiper according to the conscience* (μὴ δυνάμεναι κατὰ συνείδησιν τελειῶσαι τὸν λατρεύοντα). Many interpreters understand the perfection of the worshiper according to the conscience to designate, at least in part, the purification of the conscience.[117] Thus, τελειοῦν refers to the part of the totality of salvation that relates to the conscience, especially the purification of the conscience (cf. 9:14).[118] With respect to the access to God proposal, when thinking of *perfecting the conscience*, it seems cumbersome for the author to speak of bringing the conscience of a person into the divine presence.[119] However, it may be important to remember that, just as in 10:1, the author speaks of the perfection of the worshiper (τὸν λατρεύοντα). The old covenant sacrifices could not perfect or bring the worshiper into the divine presence. The prepositional phrase κατὰ συνείδησιν, then, functions to give the reference or respect of which the sacrifices could not perfect the worshiper. It was *with respect to* or *with reference to* the conscience that the worshipers could not be brought into the divine presence.[120] The conscience is not the object of τελειοῦν, which would create an awkward collocation referring to granting the conscience access to the divine. Rather,

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117 Johnsson, "Defilement," 253, 273, 282; Peterson, *Perfection*, 134; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 242; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:216, 224; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 442; Koester, *Hebrews*, 399; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 378; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 177; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 315.

118 Some scholars connect the perfection of the conscience with the new covenant promise that the law will be written on the heart; see Peterson, *Perfection*, 140; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 242; Koester, *Hebrews*, 399; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 23; Joslin, *Law*, 299.

119 Ellingworth argues that the conscience is not a separate part of human nature, so the appeal to the conscience could be synecdoche (*Hebrews*, 442); however, the author does appear to have something specific in mind when referring to the conscience of the believer beyond a reference to the believer in general.

120 Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 377; BDAG, 513.

the sacrifices cannot bring the worshipers into the divine presence on account of (with respect to) their consciences, which, as the author reveals, are burdened by sin. We will discuss below how the conscience relates to the efficacy of both the old and new covenant cults.

5.2.3 Redemption

The inability of the old covenant to provide redemption is an underemphasized theme in Hebrews study. Hebrews 9:12 states that Christ's sacrifice resulted in obtaining an eternal redemption (αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν). Redemption is something that Christ's new covenant sacrifice attains. Still, this salvific good will be discussed presently, because, when 9:15 alludes to this redemption, it describes the redemption obtained by Christ in a manner that demonstrates that the old covenant sacrifices could not effect redemption.[121]

Hebrews 9:15 draws on the description of Christ's heavenly sacrifice in 9:11–14 and states that, on account of Christ's heavenly sacrifice (διὰ τοῦτο),[122] he is the mediator of a new covenant (διαθήκης καινῆς). The purpose (ὅπως) of Christ's mediating a new covenant is that "those who are called may receive the promised eternal inheritance." A participial clause—θανάτου γενομένου εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων—modifies this purpose clause. This participial clause could be temporal, causal, or an attendant circumstance.[123] Ultimately, such a grammatical choice may not matter. The par-

121 Based on αἰωνίαν in 9:12, Alexander B. Bruce and David deSilva argue that the old covenant sacrifices accomplished a temporary redemption, whereas the new covenant sacrifice accomplished eternal redemption. The key distinction, therefore, is that between temporary and eternal (Bruce, *Hebrews: Apology*, 332–33; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 305–6). However, 9:15 suggests that the sins committed under the first covenant had not yet received ἀπολύτρωσις.

David Moffitt appeals to Jay Sklar's understanding of old covenant sacrifice as including both redemption and purification. Moffitt thinks Hebrews works with such a conception of sacrifice, since it uses both redemption and purification language (Moffitt, *Atonement*, 259–71, esp. 269). In the typological model employed in this work, one could conceive of the levitical sacrifices as demonstrating what was necessary for redemption (pedagogical function), while not achieving redemption by their own merit.

122 For those who also understand διὰ τοῦτο to have a retrospective sense, see Attridge, *Hebrews*, 254; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:241; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 459–60; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:167–68; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 182; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 213; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 187; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 327 n. 113. Contra Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 126.

123 For these options, see, among others, John J. Hughes, "Hebrews ix:15 ff and Galatians iii:15 ff: A Study in Covenant Practice and Procedure," *NovT* 21 (1979): 27–96, esp. 33;

ticipial clause appears to summarize vv. 11–14 both in terms of what happened (a death has occurred) and its effect (for the purpose of[124] redemption of transgressions committed under the first covenant). What follows both temporally and logically from this participial clause is that those who are called receive the promised eternal inheritance.

There is great debate regarding the meaning of ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων, starting with the possible meaning of the word ἀπολύτρωσιν. The author of Hebrews appears to use the terms λύτρωσιν (9:12) and ἀπολύτρωσιν (9:15) interchangeably,[125] and scholars debate what these two terms (along with other λυτρ- terms) could mean in the first century CE, providing two general options: (1) *deliverance alone* or (2) *deliverance that comes by means of a payment or a cost*. [126] Secular Greek literature points strongly to the second understanding, where λυτρ- terms are used to describe payment for the release of a slave, prisoner of war, or criminal.[127] The sense of payment is evident in some LXX texts,[128] but λυτρ- terms are predominantly used in the LXX to refer to Israel's liberation from Egypt and liberation from exile.[129] While the λυτρ- terminology referring to the liberation from foreign powers may include the sense of payment, ransom, or cost,[130] this sense is not immediately evident or explicitly included.

Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:231; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 460; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:169; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 327–28 n. 115; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 401.

124 For εἰς + accusative as a purpose clause, see O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 328 n. 115; cf. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 460.

125 These terms appear interchangeable in all extant Greek literature. Leon Morris, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965), 40–41; David Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms*, SNTSMS 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 71; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 189.

126 Cf. Büchsel, "λύτρον, κτλ," *TDNT* 4:340–56; BDAG 117, 606; Morris, *Apostolic Preaching*, 11–62; Hill, *Greek Words*, 49–81; I. Howard Marshall, "The Development of the Concept of Redemption in the New Testament," in *Reconciliation and Hope: New Testament Essays on Atonement and Eschatology*, ed. Robert J. Banks (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 153–69; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 395–96.

127 Büchsel, *TDNT* 4:340, 349–50; Benjamin B. Warfield, *The Person and Work of Christ*, ed. Samuel C. Craig (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1950), 430–44; Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, trans. Lionel R. M. Strachan (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1965), 327–30; Morris, *Apostolic Preaching*, 11–18; Hill, *Greek Words*, 49–52.

128 E.g., Exod 21:8, 30; 30:12; Lev 25:24, 26, 51, 52; Num 35:31, 32; Ps 49:7(LXX 48:8).

129 For the exodus, see Deut 7:8; 9:26; 13:5(LXX 13:6); 15:15; 21:8; 24:18; Pss 25:22(LXX 24:22); 26:11(LXX 25:11); 31:5 (LXX 30:6); 32:7(LXX 31:7). For exile, see Isa 41:14; 43:1, 14; 44:22–24; 51:11; 52:3; 62:12; 63:9.

130 The exodus and exile references of n. 129 may have their conceptual origin in the redemption texts of n. 128.

Interestingly, the New Testament usage of λυτρ- terms differs from the LXX regarding which words are typically used. Whereas the LXX uses λυτροῦν and λύτρωσις widely and ἀπολύτρωσις only once (Dan 4:34 where there is no Masoretic equivalent), the New Testament prefers ἀπολύτρωσις (10x) to λύτρωσις (3x) and only employs λυτροῦν three times. Despite this difference, there is a similar divide in the New Testament usages concerning whether they denote a cost or payment accompanying the deliverance. Some carry the sense of payment,[131] whereas others do not make such a sense explicit.[132] While it is quite possible that λυτρ- terms always imply the concept of cost even when a price is not stated,[133] without the denotation of a price or cost, it is difficult to prove the presence of this sense.

The term ἀπολύτρωσις alone is sparsely attested in extra-biblical Greek and only in the second and first centuries BCE.[134] In each instance, several of which occur in Jewish writings (LXX Dan 4:34; Josephus, *Ant*. 12.27; Philo, *Good Person* 114; *Let*. *Aris*. 12, 33), ἀπολύτρωσις denotes deliverance *by means of payment/ransom*,[135] which may lead to the presumption that the New Testament usage would be the same.[136] However, due to Hebrews's interchangeable usage of λύτρωσις and ἀπολύτρωσις, there is some ambiguity as to whether the term ἀπολύτρωσις by itself can include the notion of payment/ransom. In fact, Hebrews's one other usage of ἀπολύτρωσις in 11:35 epitomizes the ambiguity of the term. The author speaks of the heroes of the faith, noting that "others were tortured, refusing redemption [ἀπολύτρωσιν]." Here the author clearly speaks of deliverance, but it is unclear whether he speaks of deliverance alone[137] or deliverance at the cost of apostasy.[138] Thus, in order to determine the meaning of ἀπολύτρωσιν in 9:15, we must look at the usage in context.

Some scholars argue that the context of Heb 9:12 and 15 suggests that the redemption language refers to *deliverance alone*.[139] These terms arise in a cultic context, in which Christ's sacrifice is compared to the Day of Atonement sacrifi-

131 Mark 10:45; 1 Tim 2:6; 1 Pet 1:18; Titus 2:14; cf. Rom 3:24; Eph 1:7, 14.
132 Luke 1:68; 2:38; 21:28; 24:21; Acts 7:35; Rom 8:23; 1 Cor 1:30; Col 1:14.
133 Marshall, "Redemption," 153 n. 4.
134 Büchsel, *TDNT* 4:351–52.
135 For a discussion of these texts, see Büchsel, *TDNT* 4:352; Morris, *Apostolic Preaching*, 16–18; Hill, *Greek Words*, 51.
136 Morris, *Apostolic Preaching*, 41.
137 Büchsel, *TDNT* 4:354.
138 Morris, *Apostolic Preaching*, 49–50.
139 Hill, *Greek Words*, 68–69; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 191–98; cf. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 296; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 453.

ces. David Hill argues that the notion of ransom is a legal concept that does not apply in a cultic context. The Old Testament never states that the animals "were accepted as a *ransom* for the life of the people," and such a confusion of legal and cultic notions is not possible.[140] Further, a cost is never explicitly given. In 9:12 the phrase διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος does not denote the price of redemption. The New Testament at times uses ἐν plus the dative to express price, "but never in Classical, LXX or Koine Greek is διά with the gen[itive] used to express cost."[141] In fact, this prepositional phrase does not even modify λύτρωσις but modifies the main verb εἰσῆλθεν (see above, pp. 117–19).

However, the context of Heb 9:12 and 15 strongly suggests that λύτρωσιν and ἀπολύτρωσιν denote *deliverance at a cost/ransom*. The cultic context does not preclude the notion of *deliverance at a cost/ransom*. In fact, there are several instances where λυτρ- terms are used in cultic contexts to denote deliverance at a cost. For instance, Exod 13:11–16 establishes sacrifices that functioned as a redemption at cost (פָּדָה; λυτροῦν) in commemoration of the exodus.[142] Identifying λύτρωσιν and ἀπολύτρωσιν with *ransom* in these texts does not presuppose a theory of Old Testament sacrifice, as Hill worries it does,[143] but it highlights the fact that the old covenant sacrifices were not on their own and in their normal fashion able to ransom sins. In addition, although these two verses do not explicitly say "at the price of," the cost of redemption is clear in both verses. In v. 12, redemption is clearly the result of Christ's self-offering of his own blood in the Holy of Holies, so that the cost of redemption is Christ's blood.[144] Similarly, in v. 15, the very purpose of Christ's death (θανάτου) is that the redemption of sins committed under the first covenant might occur, so that death is the cost of redemption.[145]

140 Hill, *Greek Words*, 68.

141 Ibid.; similarly Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 191 n. 280.

142 Morris notes that martyr narratives demonstrate the intersection of atoning sacrifices and redemption in the development of Judaism. For instance, 4 Macc 17:21–22 describes the death of the martyr both as a "ransom [ἀντίψυχον] for the sin of our nation" and "an atoning sacrifice [τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου]" (Morris, *Apostolic Preaching*, 160).

143 Hill, *Greek Words*, 69.

144 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:257; Morris, *Apostolic Preaching*, 40–41; Marshall, "Redemption," 165–66; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 367; Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 250; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:154; similarly Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 154; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:241–42.

145 To maintain that Hebrews locates the primary sacrificial efficacy with Christ's life, David Moffitt rejects the idea that Christ's death was the cost of redemption and that death was the *means* by which redemption took place. Rather, he argues that the εἰς before ἀπολύτρωσιν is resultative so that Jesus's death ultimately resulted in redemption, but was not the means by which redemption was accomplished (*Atonement*, 290).

The idea that Christ's death is the payment or cost that allows for the deliverance of believers is confirmed throughout Hebrews and the New Testament. Hebrews 2:9 states that Jesus suffered death so that "he might taste death for everyone";[146] 2:14–15 explains that Jesus became human "so that by his death he might destroy him who holds the power of death [θανάτου]—that is, the devil—and free those [ἀπαλλάξῃ] who all their lives were held in slavery by their fear of death [θανάτου]"; 5:7–9 describes how his death and suffering resulted in his becoming "the source of eternal salvation [σωτηρίας]" (cf. 13:12). Similarly, there appears to be a New Testament tradition that connects λυτρ- terms to Jesus's giving (διδόναι) of himself (1 Tim 2:6; Titus 2:14), his life (Mk 10:45), or his precious blood (1 Pet 1:19; Eph 1:7). The implication is that Christ's life is the payment for redemption.

To some degree, there is little difference whether λύτρωσις and ἀπολύτρωσις denote a sense of payment along with liberation. Either way, in terms of efficacy, there is liberation from trespasses under the first covenant that was not available by means of the old covenant sacrifices. The significance of the notion of *payment* is more in the ability to identify why the old covenant sacrifices were not able to provide redemption, while Christ's sacrifice was. If redemption carries the idea of cost, then Christ's sacrifice was able to redeem, because it was of adequate payment, whereas the old covenant sacrifices were not. Such a notion fits well with our proposal of old covenant sacrifices as temporary, sacramental types of Christ's sacrifice. The old covenant cult was "only a symbolic or pedagogical apparatus designed to remind Israel of her covenant violations (Heb 10:3) until one could come who was capable of bearing the curse-of-death of the (broken) covenant on behalf of the whole nation."[147]

Equally important is to determine whether ἀπολύτρωσιν in 9:15 means the same thing as ἄφεσις in 9:22 and 10:18. Many scholars argue that, since sins cannot be liberated, the ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν παραβάσεων must refer to the remission or forgiveness of sins.[148] Colossians 1:14 and Eph 1:7 supposedly support this

146 Loader, *Sohn*, 194–96; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:49; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 100.

147 Hahn, "Curse-of-Death," 87; similarly James R. Schaefer, "The Relationship between Priestly and Servant Messianism in the Epistle to the Hebrews," *CBQ* 30 (1968): 377–81; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:241–42; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 377–81; Mackie, "Heavenly Sanctuary Mysticism," 111.

148 Büchsel, *TDNT* 4:354–55; Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 126; Hill, *Greek Words*, 69; Marshall, "Redemption," 165; Peterson, *Perfection*, 137; Bruce, *Hebrews*, 208–9; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 476; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 460; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:171–72; Di Giovambattista, *Giorno dell'espiazione*, 146; Koester, *Hebrews*, 408, 417; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 184 n. 48; Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 262; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 190; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 322; cf. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 265; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:154; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:239, 251–52; Koester, *Hebrews*, 412–13; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 93.

view, because both of these texts place ἀπολύτρωσιν in appositional relationship with τὴν ἄφεσιν of sins (τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν in Col 1:14 and τῶν παραπτωμάτων in Eph 1:7). Thus, it is thought that early Christian tradition identified these two salvific efficacies.

However, a couple of considerations suggest that ἀπολύτρωσιν in Heb 9:15 is not equivalent with the forgiveness of sins as denoted by ἄφεσις in 9:22 and 10:18. First, the ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν παραβάσεων was not possible during the regime of the old covenant, and, therefore, the old covenant sacrifices could not attain this reality. In contrast, as discussed above, Hebrews describes ἄφεσις as a benefit that was attained by blood through the sacrifices for sins during the old covenant. Thus, the author of Hebrews seems to distinguish between these two salvific realities.

Second, some scholars have argued that the construction ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν παραβάσεων must refer to remission, since trespasses cannot be redeemed/liberated;[149] however, the author likely means that Christ redeems people—οἱ κεκλημένοι—from their sins.[150] The author frequently speaks of Christ's efficacy as it relates to sins in this way. For instance, Heb 1:3 describes how Christ provided "purification for sins" (καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν). Here again the salvific good of purification (καθαρισμόν) is modified by a word for sins in the genitive plural. The author does not mean that *sins* are purified, but that people are purified from their sins (cf. Heb 2:17).[151] The genitive construction is flexible, and one ought not to be too dogmatic about such a grammatical construction.

Third, by distinguishing between ἀπολύτρωσιν and ἄφεσις, the author of Hebrews does not necessarily disagree with the traditions found in Col 1:14 and Eph 1:7. The ἄφεσις of sins refers to remission whereby the person is released from the guilt or punishment of sins. Forgiveness does not, however, mean that the sin or trespass is fully dealt with. For the sins to be fully removed and the scales of justice balanced, redemption is necessary. While ἄφεσις releases the guilty party from the punishment due sins, ἀπολύτρωσις liberates the guilty party by removing sins through a payment.[152] Thus, there could be ἄφεσις without ἀπολύτρωσις, but ἀπολύτρωσις would necessarily include ἄφεσις, since removal of the sin would also include removing the punishment due a sin. For this reason, while the ἀπολύτρωσις achieved by Christ that is mentioned in Col 1:14 and Eph 1:7 would include ἄφεσις, Hebrews can speak of an ἄφεσις occurring

149 Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:171.

150 Cf. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 255 n. 13.

151 Morris, *Apostolic Preaching*, 46.

152 Marshall notes that the penal effects of sin are in view with ἀπολύτρωσις ("Redemption," 165).

under the first covenant that did not include ἀπολύτρωσις. Sins that were forgiven during the first covenant in some sense were not removed.[153]

Finally, we have to consider what the phrase ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων denotes. Some consider the prepositional phrase to function conditionally or causally, thereby denoting the cause of the trespasses. The old covenant caused sins.[154] However, the author does not appear to be critiquing the law for causing sin; rather, this section critiques the law and its cult for its inability to take away sin. The author, therefore, uses the prepositional phrase temporally, thereby denoting "the regime under which were committed sins" that could not be redeemed.[155] The sins committed by God's people (the called, οἱ κεκλημένοι) under the first covenant (i.e., before Christ inaugurated the second covenant)[156] are redeemed not by levitical sacrifices but by Christ's sacrifice.

5.2.4 The Law Has a Shadow

Having established three salvific goods that the old covenant sacrifices could not attain, we turn now to examine other critical statements made about the old covenant cult. We begin with Heb 10:1 and the statement that "the law has only a shadow [σκιάν] of the good things to come and not the true form [εἰκόνα] of

153 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:261; cf. Rom 3:24–26; Gal 3:19–22; Acts 13:38–39.

154 Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 126; cf. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 264; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:261; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 366–67; Koester, *Hebrews*, 417.

155 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 255; similarly Braun, *Hebräer*, 272; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 476–77 n. 10; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:171; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 183–84; Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 262; Filtvedt, *Identity*, 120.

156 Kraus has argued that the trespasses refer narrowly to those committed by the Israelites against and, therefore, since the Sinai covenant (*Heiligtumsweihe*, 105; cf. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 264; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 461). However, Heb 9:15 describes those who are redeemed as "called" (κεκλημένοι) and receiving the "promise" (ἐπαγγελίαν). These two words (καλεῖν and ἐπαγγελία) describe pre- and post-Sinai persons in Heb 11:8, 9, 13, 17, 18, 33, and 39, where those who are called and promised are not perfected (τελειωθῶσιν) until the time of the new covenant (11:40). The author does not distinguish between pre- and post-Sinai realities, so that in Heb 9:15 the author likely has the patriarchs as well as those who lived under the first covenant in view—i.e., all those who lived before the time of the new covenant (esp. Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 262). The author is contrasting the new covenant to that which preceded the new covenant, generally referred to as the first covenant.

Cockerill argues that the ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων are not limited to transgressions committed during the era of the first covenant but include transgressions of any time, because the old covenant "exposed the true nature of sin as unbelief and disobedience" (*Hebrews*, 402). Such a generalization beyond the time of the first covenant, however, is unfounded.

these realities." The author of Hebrews here contrasts the shadow (σκιάν) with the reality (εἰκόνα). The shadow anticipates the good things to come (τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν), and the reality contains the good things themselves (τῶν πραγμάτων). Some see in this contrast between shadow and reality a modified Platonic or Philonic distinction between what is above and what is below, between the higher forms and the lower forms in the phenomenal world.[157] In contrast, others think that a Platonic or Philonic influence is absent and see here the influence "of primitive Jewish Christian eschatology."[158] It seems quite likely that the author is using the σκιάν-εἰκόνα contrast in both a vertical (though not technically Platonic or Philonic) *and* horizontal manner. In terms of the vertical aspect, the author begins ch. 10 with a statement that summarizes ch. 9, of which the entirety was spent describing how Christ's heavenly sacrifice (above) compares to the earthly sacrifice (below). Further, the only other place Hebrews uses σκιά is in 8:5, where the earthly sanctuary is described as a sketch and shadow of the heavenly one (ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ ... τῶν ἐπουρανίων). In terms of the horizontal aspect, the author has also developed a stark contrast between the first and new covenant, arguing that the good things are present in the new covenant and only anticipated in the first (8:8–13). When Christ entered the heavenly sanctuary to offer himself and inaugurate the new covenant, he entered "as a high priest of the good things that have come [τῶν γενομένων ἀγαθῶν]" (9:11), who provides the salvific goods to those who were promised them (9:15). Thus, the contrast between the shadow of the good things (σκιὰν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν) and the true form of those realities (εἰκόνα τῶν πραγμάτων) is both a vertical and horizontal distinction.[159]

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157 For those who argue for a Middle Platonic view (at least in part), see Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 135; Stylianopoulos, "Shadow and Reality," 216–20; Thompson, *Beginnings*, 160; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 270–71; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 502–3; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:206–7; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 317; Koester, *Hebrews*, 98–99; Sterling, "Ontology," 198–99; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 105–20. Mackie thinks that Heb 10:1 is a deliberate critique of Philo's view of the law because Philo says that Moses did not produce shadows (σκιά) but the archetypes themselves (*Planting* 27; *Dreams* 1:206) (*Eschatology*, 117–19). Philo also distinguishes between particular laws and the transcendent law (Philo, *Moses* 2.51). However, Heb 10:1 is not distinguishing between Israel's law and the transcendent law but between Israel's law and the work of Christ (Koester, *Hebrews*, 437).

158 Joslin, *Law*, 246; similarly Bruce, *Hebrews*, 226; Hurst, *Background*, 16–17, 24; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:259–60; cf. Schenck, *Cosmology*, 119.

159 Similarly, Stylianopoulos, "Shadow and Reality," 216–18; MacRae, "Heavenly Temple," 179–99; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 271; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 500; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:207.

It is difficult to determine how σκιάν relates to νόμος, specifically whether the entire law is a σκιάν or only part of the law.[160] Two theological considerations come into play with this issue. First, since a shadow anticipates the coming good things, then that shadow will inevitably be replaced and abrogated when the good things occur. Thus, is the entire law abrogated in the new covenant era, or is only a part of the law abrogated?[161] In favor of an abrogation of the entire law may be Heb 7:12, which states that "when there is a change in the priesthood, there is necessarily a change in the law [νόμου μετάθεσις]." In this verse as well, it is not clear whether the author refers to a change of the *entire* law or only a part; however, the author continues in this pericope to state that the law (νόμος) made nothing perfect, which is why a better hope (κρείττονος ἐλπίδος) is introduced that draws the believer near to God (v. 19). Two verses later, the author notes that "Jesus has become the guarantee of a better covenant [κρείττονος διαθήκης]" (v. 22). Thus, the better hope is likely the better covenant, thereby suggesting that the νόμος ought to be identified with the Mosaic covenant (similarly in 9:19; 10:28) and contrasted with the new, better covenant. With such a reading, the entire νόμος would be abrogated by the new covenant. In favor of an abrogation of only a part of the law—i.e., the cultic aspect of the law—is the fact that throughout Hebrews νόμος and especially references to its insufficiencies are closely identified with cultic regulations. The context of Hebrews's call for a change of the law (νόμου μετάθεσις; 7:12) is a discussion of the priestly office. The levitical priests receive a tithe and are appointed to their office based on ancestry *according to the law* (κατὰ [τὸν] νόμον; Heb 7:5, 16). Verse 28 then summarizes the argument of the pericope, saying, "The law [νόμος] appoints as high priests those who are subject to weakness, but the word of the oath, which came later than the law [νόμον], appoints a Son." Thus, the main focus of νόμος in this section is the role of the νόμος in appointing priests, so that a change in priesthood would require a change in the law concerning how priests are appointed to their office. Further, when νόμον occurs in 8:4, 9:22, and 10:8, the cultic aspects of the law are in view, and, when discussing the inability of the law to perfect, Hebrews clearly has the cult in view (9:9; 10:1). Therefore, He-

160 Part of the ambiguity exists around the function of the participle ἔχων in the collocation σκιὰν γὰρ ἔχων ὁ νόμος. If the entire law is a shadow, then this phrase could be translated "the (entire) law possesses a shadow," in the sense that it *casts* a shadow. In contrast, if only a part of the law is a shadow, then one could either limit the scope of the word νόμος or translate ἔχων differently; for instance, "the law *contains* a shadow," so that, while νόμος denotes the entire law, there is only a part of that law which is contained in it that is a shadow (Schulz, "σκιά, κτλ," *TDNT* 7:398; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 199; Joslin, *Law*, 244–45).

161 For an in depth discussion of this question, see Joslin, *Law*.

brews may only identify the cultic aspect of the law as abrogated in the new covenant era.[162]

Second, since the σκιάν is of the good things that are coming (the new covenant realities), the σκιάν-εἰκόνα contrast suggests that the σκιά foreshadows or anticipates what would come in the new covenant.[163] Thus, it is not simply a question of whether the author thought the whole of the law or only a part of it was to be abrogated, but whether the author is stating that the entire law foreshadowed the new covenant realities or whether only a part of the law—i.e., the cultic part—foreshadowed the new covenant realities. In terms of such a foreshadowing function, a number of considerations favor the latter position, that the cultic aspects of the law are the shadow of the good things that are coming. First, the context of v. 1 is the inability of the cult to perfect worshipers. The main clause of the verse is "the law can never by the same sacrifices [θυσίαις] repeated endlessly year after year make perfect those who draw near" (my translation). The participial phrase "having [ἔχων] a shadow of the good things that are coming not the realities themselves" (my translation) modifies ὁ νόμος (the subject of the main clause) and may function causally.[164] The main clause, therefore, makes clear that the cultic aspect of the law is in view, so that the shadowy aspect of the law is directly related to the cult's inability to perfect believers (cf. 9:9).[165] Second, as noted above, Hebrews's only other use of the term σκιά comes in 8:5 where the earthly sanctuary is described as a shadow (σκιᾷ) of the heavenly one (τῶν ἐπουρανίων). The use of σκιάν in 10:1 may be intended to resonate with the usage in 8:5 so that one understands the connection to the sanctuary and its accompanying priesthood and cult.[166] Third, Heb 10:1 comes in the midst of Heb 8:1–10:18, in which the author goes to great lengths to demonstrate how Christ's new covenant sacrifice follows the pattern of the old covenant cult. This argument clearly suggests that the author viewed the cultic aspect of the law as anticipating or foreshadowing the coming goods of the new covenant. Fourth, the unique collocation σκιὰν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν finds a striking parallel in Col 2:17,[167] which states that matters of food and drink, festivals, new moons, and Sabbaths are "a shadow of what is to come

162 Mary Schmitt, "Restructuring Views on Law in Hebrews 7:12," *JBL* 128 (2009): 189–201.
163 Hughes, *Hebrews*, 389–90; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 269–71; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:259–60; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 500–501; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:204–5; Koester, *Hebrews*, 430, 437; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 205; Joslin, *Law*, 244–55; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 345.
164 E.g., Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 429 n. 50.
165 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 271.
166 Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 199.
167 Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:206; Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 163.

[σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων], but the substance belongs to Christ." In this case, festal regulations that centered on the cult are identified as a σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων. The word σκιά is found in the New Testament only seven times. Outside of the two occurrences in Hebrews and this occurrence in Colossians, the word is used in Mark 4:32 and Acts 5:15 to refer to a shadow cast by a plant or a person, and in Matt 4:16 and Luke 1:79 it speaks of the shadow of death. The occurences in Col 2:17 and Heb 10:1 are distinct from the other usages, and, when one combines the unique usage of σκιά with the addition of τῶν μελλόντων to produce a distinctive collocation in the context of cultic/festal regulations, it seems quite possible that early Christian traditions identified the cultic aspects of the law as σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων.[168]

For these reasons, it seems most likely that, when the author speaks of the law having a shadow of the good things to come, he is speaking not about the entire law but the cultic aspect of the law, because it is the cultic aspect of the law that anticipates and foreshadows Christ's new covenant sacrifice.[169] Thus, the μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν of 10:1 are certainly identical to the τῶν γενομένων ἀγαθῶν of 9:11, the "good things that are already here,"[170] which Christ attains as high priest.[171] The shadow of the *things that are coming* has arrived and *is already here*.[172] The σκιάν anticipated the εἰκόνα, which is achieved by Christ.[173] The μελ-

168 Cf. Eduard Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), 116–17; Peter T. O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, WBC 44 (Dallas, TX: Word, 1982), 139–41; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 115–17; Markus Barth and Helmut Blanke, *Colossians*, AB 34B (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1994), 339–40; James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 176–77; Robert McLachlan Wilson, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Colossians and Philemon*, ICC (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 219–20; Douglas J. Moo, *The Letters to the Colossians and to Philemon*, PiNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008).

169 Gouge, *Hebrews*, 2:295; Brown, *Hebrews*, 433; Stylianopoulos, "Shadow and Reality," 216; Johnsson, "Defilement," 338–40; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:260; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 490; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:204; Joslin, *Law*, esp. 244–45; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 344–45; Filtvedt, *Identity*, 105–7.

170 For a discussion of τῶν γενομένων ἀγαθῶν, see pp. 113–14.

171 Johnsson, "Defilement," 339; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 500–501; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:207.

172 Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 138–43; Peterson, *Perfection*, 145; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:260. Many scholars hedge against an over-realized eschatology and argue that the good components of the age to come are both present and future (Attridge, *Hebrews*, 269; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 345 cf. Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 135).

173 Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:260; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:207; Koester, *Hebrews*, 430, 437; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 116; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 345.

λόντων ἀγαθῶν, then, are the components of the new covenant age achieved through the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice.

This understanding of Heb 10:1 fits well with our sacramental, typological reading of the old covenant sacrifices. The old covenant sacrifices are shadowy forms of the new covenant sacrifice that is to come. They anticipate both the form and the effects of the new covenant sacrifice. One could even go a step further and say that these relate to each other as shadow and reality in that the old covenant sacrifices were not efficacious in themselves; only the reality has efficacy.[174] Whatever efficacy the shadow has is only due to its vague correlation to the reality.

5.2.5 Regulations of the Flesh (9:10, 13)

As noted in the introduction, the most common explanation for the difference between the old covenant sacrifices and the new covenant sacrifice in Hebrews is that the old covenant sacrifices achieved external purification, whereas Christ's sacrifice achieved internal purification.[175] Such a notion is most explicitly described in 9:10 and 9:13, although this issue is also connected to the notion of purifying the conscience (9:9, 14; 10:2), which is discussed next.

Hebrews 9:10 is a continuation of a text that has been addressed above. Verses 6 – 8 speak of the lack of access to the divine presence under the old covenant, and verse 9 speaks of the old covenant sacrifices' inability to perfect the conscience of the worshiper. Verse 10 is a continuation of v. 9, so that the author follows the statement about the inability of the gifts and sacrifices (δῶρά καὶ θυσίαι) with the statement that these are "only concerning food and drink and various washings, regulations for the body (δικαιώματα σαρκός) imposed until the time of correction" (v. 10; my translation). It is frequently noted that the old covenant sacrifices had an impact on the flesh (σάρξ) but not on the conscience (συνείδησις), resulting in the conclusion that Hebrews disparages the gifts and sacrifices of the old covenant by relegating their efficacy to the external (and not the internal).[176] While this external-internal distinction is clearly pres-

174 Ceslas Spicq suggests that the old covenant sacrifices are the shadow and Christ's sacrifice the reality, "pourquoi l'une est sterile et l'autre efficace" (Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:301; cf. Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:207).

175 See above, pp. 6 – 7 n. 16.

176 Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 119; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:254 – 55; Käsemann, *Wandernde Gottesvolk*, 36; Thompson, *Beginnings*, 105; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 242 – 43; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 460 – 61; Isaacs, *Sacred Space*, 97; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 442; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:139 – 41; deSilva, *Perseverance*,

ent, a couple of considerations relativize the degree of dualism present in this distinction.

First, the term σάρξ likely draws on a heaven-earth dualism rather than (or more than) an anthropological dualism. Hebrews uses this term and its cognates to refer to human existence and the earthly sphere. When referring to Christ's incarnation, Hebrews speaks of him sharing flesh and blood (αἵματος καὶ σαρκός; 2:14) and of the days of his flesh (ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ; 5:7; cf. the reference to Jesus's σάρξ in 10:20). The law that appoints levitical priests based on their lineage is denoted with νόμον ἐντολῆς σαρκίνης. Thus, Hebrews does not speak negatively of the σάρξ, but identifies it as the fleshly or physical aspect of an earthly being.[177] Hebrews 9:10 concludes a section that begins in 9:1 by speaking about the first covenant's regulations for worship (δικαιώματα λατρείας) and the earthly sanctuary (τό ἅγιον κοσμικόν). After discussing the earthly sanctuary (which is contrasted to the heavenly in 9:11–14), vv. 6–10 discuss the δικαιώματα, concluding the discussion with a reference to the δικαιώματα σαρκός, which forms an inclusio with δικαιώματα λατρείας in 9:1. The author may employ δικαιώματα σαρκός, therefore, to identify the regulations as belonging to the fleshly realm of earth, regulations fitting to an earthly (κοσμικόν) sanctuary. Σάρξ, in this construal, would be a way of contrasting earthly/fleshly rituals to those that would take place in the heavenly sanctuary (as described in vv. 11–14). Hebrews uses σάρξ in a similar manner in 12:9, where human/earthly/fleshly fathers (τῆς σαρκὸς πατέρας) are contrasted with the heavenly father (τῷ πατρὶ τῶν πνευμάτων).[178] The δικαιώματα σαρκός, then, are the regulations of the fleshly or earthly realm (in contrast to the heavenly realm).[179]

Second, if the earthly, old covenant sacrifices are sacramental types of the heavenly, new covenant sacrifice, then one would expect some kind of external-internal distinction. The old covenant sacrifices are performed in the earthly realm as symbols connecting to a greater sacrifice that is actually efficacious. Thus, the old covenant sacrifices are external signs, which do not attain any internal effect by their own merit but only because God established them as a means of accessing the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice.[180]

306; Di Giovambattista, *Giorno dell'espiazione*, 188; Knöppler, *Sühne*, 212; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 375–76; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 177, 180; Joslin, *Law*, 229–30; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 315; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 384–85.

177 Johnsson, "Defilement," 287; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:216.

178 Schweizer, "σάρξ, κτλ," *TDNT* 7:141.

179 Schweizer, *TDNT* 7:141–42; Johnsson, "Defilement," 287–89; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:216–17.

180 Such a reading, as opposed to a denial of validity to the δικαιώματα σαρκός, may be supported by the use of the term βαπτισμοῖς. While the term likely refers to ablutions that were part

Further, a positive (but temporary) function for the fleshly (levitical) regulations is supported by the description of the regulations as "imposed until the time of reformation [μέχρι καιροῦ διορθώσεως ἐπικείμενα]" (NIV). Διόρθωσις can mean correction, reconstruction, or improvement, and when a law underwent διόρθωσις, it was abrogated.[181] The καιροῦ διορθώσεως identifies the time when the new covenant was inaugurated, the time when the laws of the first covenant were changed (7:12), abrogated (7:18), and made obsolete (8:13).[182] Thus, until the time of the new covenant, the δικαιώματα σαρκός are imposed in a legal sense.[183] The law obligates worshipers to perform them. Hebrews 9:10 is a similar statement to 10:8, which reminds the readers that, although God did not desire offerings, burnt offerings, or sin offerings, the law did require them to be made. Thus, the author notes that, although the old covenant sacrifices were simply fleshly regulations, they did have legal validity (until the new covenant was inaugurated) according to the law given to them by God. This reading suggests a sacramental, typological understanding in 9:10, because the sacrifices were divinely instituted, legally valid, and presumably efficacious according to the law up to the time of the new covenant sacrifice. At that time, the old covenant sacrifices were no longer necessary, because of the change in law and presumably because the sacrifices had no validity in and of themselves apart from God's ascribing them validity.

Hebrews 9:13–14 also places flesh (σάρξ) and conscience (συνείδησις) in contrast by use of a *qal wahomer* argument:[184] "For if the blood of goats and bulls, with the sprinkling of the ashes of a heifer, sanctifies [ἁγιάζει] those who have been defiled so that their flesh is purified [πρὸς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς καθαρότητα], how much more will the blood of Christ ... purify our conscience [καθαριεῖ τὴν συνείδησιν] from dead works to worship the living God." The argument begins by ascribing to the old covenant sacrifices a modest efficacy—they sanctify so that there is a purification of the flesh. The verb ἁγιάζειν refers to conse-

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of the levitical cult, the term would inevitably also call to mind Christian baptism. Although this ritual was an external regulation, the early believers understood it as a symbol of what Christ accomplished in their lives (cf. Rothschild, "Παραβολή," 373).

181 BDAG 251; LSJ 434; Preisker, "διόρθωσις," *TDNT* 5:450.

182 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 243; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:225; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 444; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:141; Koester, *Hebrews*, 412; Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 160; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 86–87.

183 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 242; BDAG 373.

184 For the contrast between flesh and conscience, see also Bruce, *Hebrews: Apology*, 336–37; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 356; Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 251; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 470; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 458; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 292; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 184; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 204–6.

cration or sanctification—i.e., setting something apart for a sacred purpose.[185] Consecration includes purification, but it then goes an additional step, not only removing impurity but moving a person or thing from the profane to the sacred.[186] Consecration allowed believers to approach God in worship and allowed priests to enter the tabernacle for service. Hebrews 9:13, on the one hand, acknowledges a function of the levitical sacrifices. On the other hand, when describing this sanctification, it states that the purification that is a part of sanctification was of the fleshly realm (σάρξ), which leads James Moffatt to suggest that the worshiper is restored to outward communion with God—i.e., communion that is permitted at the earthly sanctuary.[187] In contrast, Christ's new covenant sacrifice cleanses the conscience from acts that lead to death, thereby allowing believers to enter the divine presence, where they can serve the living God. Access to the earthly sanctuary requires the purification of the fleshly realm (σάρξ), whereas access to the heavenly sanctuary requires a purified conscience (συνείδησις).

Thus, the author is not as concerned with an internal-external distinction as he is with a heaven-earth and old-new contrast. Σάρξ in 9:10 and 9:13 occurs in the author's broader contrast between the earthly and heavenly cults in 9:1–14. The author does not use σάρξ to make an internal-external distinction but to identify the levitical sacrifices with the fleshly/earthly realm.[188] An earthly sanctuary (ἅγιον κοσμικόν; 9:1) was the location of earthly regulations (δικαιώματα σαρκός), which accomplished an earthly purification (τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς καθαρότητα). The result was that believers could approach the earthly sanctuary, not the heavenly. Other efficacies, such as the purification of the conscience, are simply not in the realm of possibility for the levitical sacrifices. The levitical cult is the shadowy aspect of the law. It is a shadow of the coming reality, which is the heavenly Christ cultus. The levitical sacrifices are regulations for the fleshly realm, because they are shadows of the regulations in the heavenly realm.[189] They are sacramental types, foreshadowing and imitating the realities.

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185 Procksch, "ἁγιάζω," *TDNT* 1:111; Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 122; Johnsson, "Defilement," 164; Rissi, *Theologie des Hebräerbriefs*, 95; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 164; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:157, 223–24; Peterson, *Possessed by God*, 34; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 192.

186 deSilva, *Perseverance*, 202.

187 Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 122; Peterson, *Perfection*, 138; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 396.

188 Grayston, "Salvation Proclaimed III," 166; Marshall, "Soteriology in Hebrews," 168–69.

189 Weiss, *Hebräer*, 501; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:205.

5.2.6 Cleansing the Conscience

Having discussed the relegation of the old covenant sacrifices to the sarkic realm, it seems natural to proceed by discussing the inability of these sacrifices to purify the conscience. Hebrews 10:2 proceeds from the argument of 10:1, where the author states that the law has a shadow of the good things and that the law, by means of these sacrifices, could not make perfect those who approach. Based on these statements (ἐπεί), the author asks a rhetorical question: "Would not the sacrifices have stopped being offered, because the worshipers, being cleansed once for all, would have had no consciousness of sins [συνείδησιν ἁμαρτιῶν]?" (my translation). The implication is that the old covenant sacrifices were not able to cleanse the believers' consciousness of sins.

The term συνείδησις has been the focus of several lexical studies due to the complex development of the σύνοιδα word group.[190] The word σύνοιδα, meaning *to know information about someone* or *to share knowledge with*,[191] developed out of legal contexts, where a witness knew information about the defendant and shared that knowledge with the court. The sharing of information, therefore, was typically negative, as witnesses were brought forward that had knowledge of the defendant's trespasses. The reflexive form of σύνοιδα internalized the forensic process so that one had knowledge of one's own trespasses. As substantives of this verbal form, συνείδησις and συνειδός can carry either the non-reflexive (awareness/knowledge of information) or reflexive meaning (awareness of one's own actions),[192] but συνείδησις occurs primarily with a reflexive meaning and is translated *conscience*. The συνείδησις is the inner faculty that functions as an inner court of law, determining whether one's actions are moral.[193] Typically, the συνείδησις is mentioned only when there is a burdened conscience—i.e., when the inner court of law convicts one of wrongdoing. However, as this faculty was incorporated into human anthropology as a permanent human faculty, the potential for a clear or positive conscience became possible, since one could not

190 Maurer, "σύνοιδα, κτλ," *TDNT* 7:898; Claude Anthony Pierce, *Conscience in the New Testament*, StBiTh 15 (London: SCM, 1955); Johannes Stelzenberger, *Syneidesis im Neuen Testament*, AM 1 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1961); Hans-Joachim Eckstein, *Der Begriff Syneidesis bei Paulus: Eine neutestamentlich-exegetische Untersuchung zum "Gewissnesbegriff,"* WUNT 2/10 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983).

191 BDAG 973; Maurer, *TDNT* 7:899.

192 Philip Bosman, *Conscience in Philo and Paul: A Conceptual History of the Synoida Word Group*, WUNT 2/166 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 77; Maurer, *TDNT* 7:904.

193 Bosman, *Conscience*, 184–90, 264–67, 276–83; cf. Maurer, *TDNT* 7:904; Pierce, *Conscience*, esp. 50.

perpetually be in a state of negative conscience.[194] For this reason, Philo is able to speak of having a pure (καθαρός) conscience.[195] In terms of the usage of συνείδησις in Hebrews, the author speaks primarily of a conscience burdened by sin. With the συνείδησιν ἁμαρτιῶν in 10:2, the author refers to the person's awareness of their own sinfulness.[196] The inner court has determined that the person has transgressed and has sinned. Similarly, in 9:14 and 10:22, the conscience convicts the person of dead works (νεκρῶν ἔργων) and wickedness/guilt (πονηρᾶς), respectively. However, the author also speaks of a positive conscience, when the author states in 13:18 that "we are sure that we have a clear conscience [καλὴν συνείδησιν]."

The rhetorical question of Heb 10:2 implies that the old covenant sacrifices were not able to purify the conscience of the believers, a salvific good already ascribed to Christ in 9:14 (καθαριεῖ τὴν συνείδησιν). The old covenant sacrifices cannot turn the conscience burdened by sin into a pure or good conscience. The insufficiency of the old covenant sacrifices, therefore, is their inability to remove the guilt of past transgressions.[197]

The cleansing of a conscience, therefore, is likely the subjective aspect of an objective salvific efficacy, and two possible efficacies could be in mind. First, forgiveness could purify the conscience. The inability of the old covenant sacrifices to attain purification of the conscience, then, would not be its inability to provide forgiveness (since we have concluded that the author ascribes forgiveness to levitical sacrifices), but its inability to provide an *ultimate* or *ongoing* forgiveness. While the sacrifices forgave sins, they only took care of the punishment for past sins so that, as soon as one sinned again, there would immediately be a συνείδησιν ἁμαρτιῶν and the need for forgiveness. Such an understanding may be supported by the fact that Heb 10:2 says that an *ultimate*, *definitive*, *once-for-all* (ἅπαξ) cleansing would result in there no longer being a συνείδησιν ἁμαρτιῶν.[198] Second, redemption could purify the conscience. It has already been established that the old covenant sacrifices could not redeem sins, and it may be that the ultimate liberation of the previously committed sins is what is

194 Bosman, *Conscience*, 278.

195 Ibid., 186–87. *Spec. Laws* 1.203; *Rewards* 84; *Good Person* 99; *Embassy* 165.

196 Hughes, *Hebrews*, 324, 391; Gary S. Selby, "The Meaning and Function of Συνείδησις in Hebrews 9 and 10," *ResQ* 28 (1986): 145–54, esp. 148; Rissi, *Theologie des Hebräerbriefs*, 92; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 242; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:261; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 503–4; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 442; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:209; Schenck, *Cosmology*, 138; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 325, 346–47.

197 Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 23.

198 Cf. Peterson, *Perfection*, 139; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:261; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:20, 211; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 95–98.

necessary for the cleansing of the conscience. Further, the conscience as an inner court of law may have been distinctly aware of the fact that animal sacrifices were insufficient (esp. in light of their repetition) to deal with the sins of human beings who are under the curse of the law that comes with transgression. This latter salvific good seems more likely, because redemption (like the purification of the conscience) is exclusively a new covenant reality (whereas the forgiveness position requires degrees of forgiveness—e. g., temporary and ultimate). Further, the consciousness of dead works (νεκρῶν ἔργων) in 9:14 suggests that the believer is aware/conscious of the penalty due sin—i. e., death.[199] As noted earlier, the cost paid through redemption is the cost of death, which suggests that the purification of the conscience would require redemption. In addition, redemption in 9:15 follows quickly after mention of the purification of conscience in 9:14, and an unburdened conscience would seem to require a full liberation from sin by means of payment and not simply a removal of punishment due sin (see pp. 225 – 27).

The other text that speaks of the inability of the old covenant sacrifices with regard to the conscience is 9:9, where the levitical sacrifices are not able to perfect the worshiper according to the conscience (κατὰ συνείδησιν τελειῶσαι τὸν λατρεύοντα). This verse raises the question of how καθαρίζειν and τελειοῦν may relate, as they concern the συνείδησιν. Paul Bosman points out that the συνείδησις works with a stimulus-response scheme so that, when a person becomes aware of a wrongdoing, they become weak and cowardly. In contrast, when a person is not burdened by an accused conscience, they act with παρρησία, *boldness*. The connection between συνείδησιν and παρρησία exists not only in secular Greek literature[200] but also in Philo[201] and Paul. For Paul, "the testimony of our conscience [συνειδήσεως]" leads him to boasting (καύχησις) and boldness (παρρησία) (2 Cor 1:12 – 14; 7:4).[202] There is a similar connection between συνείδησιν and παρρησία in Hebrews. The lengthy sentence in Heb 10:19 – 22 includes both συνείδησιν and παρρησία. The author notes that "since we have confidence [παρρησίαν] to enter the sanctuary … , let us approach with a true heart in full assurance of faith, with our heart sprinkled clean from an evil conscience [ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς]." The cleansing of the evil conscience gives the worshipers the confidence or boldness to approach

199 Hughes, *Hebrews*, 360 – 61; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 252; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 458; cf. Marshall, "Soteriology in Hebrews," 267.

200 Bosman, *Conscience*, 90 – 105.

201 *Spec. Laws* 1.203; cf. *Heir* 6 – 7; *Rewards* 163; *Good Person* 99.

202 For the connection in Philo and Paul, see Bosman, *Conscience*, 177 – 79 and 267, respectively.

the living God (similarly 4:16).[203] Thus, if the old covenant sacrifices did not result in the worshiper's no longer having a συνείδησιν ἁμαρτιῶν, then the worshiper would not have the παρρησία to approach the divine presence. Therefore, a person with a burdened conscience is not one who has been perfected, because that person does not have access or the ability to enter the divine presence. Thus, although the collocation in 9:9 seems odd, it makes sense that the old covenant sacrifices could not perfect the worshiper with regard to their conscience, because the old covenant sacrifices could not cleanse the conscience definitively and, therefore, could not provide the παρρησία necessary for approach. Καθαρίζειν and τελειοῦν, then, are not identical. The purification (καθαρίζειν) of the conscience is necessary for the worshiper to have παρρησία, which is essential for access to the divine presence (τελειοῦν).[204]

Finally, these findings on the συνείδησιν as the inner court of law support, in part, an external-internal distinction. However, the emphasis seems to be less on the external-internal distinction and more on the earthly-heavenly and old-new distinctions. The old covenant sacrifices did not accomplish the redemption of sins, and the result of this inability was that the conscience of believers was burdened by their sins. Without redemption and a clean conscience, the believer did not have the adequate boldness (παρρησία) to enter the heavenly sanctuary (τελειοῦν). Such salvific realities are only present under the new covenant. A σάρξ-συνείδησις contrast, therefore, is not *the definitive* distinction between the old and new covenant sacrifices, but it fits within larger schemes of typology and distinctions between perfection, redemption, atonement, and forgiveness.

5.2.7 Annual Reminder of Sins

Following the rhetorical question in 10:2 is the brief comment in v. 3: "But in these sacrifices there is a reminder of sin year after year [ἀλλ' ἐν αὐταῖς ἀνάμνησις ἁμαρτιῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν]." Some confusion surrounds this verse, in part because it is unclear where the author gets the idea that the sacrifices functioned as an ἀνάμνησιν. Many find here an interpretive practice either coming out of or

203 Mackie, *Eschatology*, 191; cf. Alan Mitchell, "Holding on to Confidence: ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ in Hebrews," in *Friendship, Flattery, and Frankness of Speech: Studies on Friendship in the New Testament World*, ed. John T. Fitzgerald, NovTSup 82 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 203 – 26; Patrick Gray, *Godly Fear: The Epistle to the Hebrews and Greco-Roman Critiques of Superstition*, SBLABib 16 (Atlanta: SBL, 2003), 138 – 55, esp. 145 – 48; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 95 – 98.

204 Contra Attridge, *Hebrews*, 242, 272; Koester, *Hebrews*, 399; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 378; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 177, 199 – 200; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 315.

exemplified by Philo.[205] Numbers 5:15 speaks of "a sacrifice of remembrance, recalling an offense [θυσία μνημοσύνου ἀναμιμνήσκουσα ἁμαρτίαν]" (NETS) on the occasion of a husband's becoming jealous due to a wife's infidelity. Philo takes this reference to a sacrifice that reminds of sin, and he applies it to a different context. In *Planting* 108, he argues that the sacrifices of the wicked, who have guilty minds and try to bribe God, are not reckoned to them. Not only do the sacrifices of the impious not accomplish anything positive, but they also have a negative result—"these sacrifices do but put Him in remembrance [ὑπομιμνήσκουσαι] of the ignorance [ἀγνοίας] and offenses of the several offerers." Similarly, in *Moses* 2.107, he says that the sacrifices of the foolish and ignorant effect "not a remission [λύσιν] but a reminder [ὑπόμνησιν] of past sins." Philo, however, limits the remembrance function to the sacrifices offered by the wicked, and he elsewhere notes that sacrifices typically do not act as a reminder of sin but effect a forgetting of the offense (*Spec. Laws* 1.215). Philo's statements stand in contrast to Hebrews, which applies the ἀνάμνησις function to all sacrifices. Scholars who see a connection to Philo suggest that, just as Philo generalizes the ἀνάμνησις function of Num 5:15 from a particular sacrifice to the sacrifices offered by the wicked, so Hebrews further generalizes by universalizing Philo's principle, expanding it from the sacrifices of the wicked to all sacrifices.[206] This author considers it unlikely that Hebrews is intentionally following and developing an exegetical tradition attested by Philo by generalizing from Num 5:15 to Heb 10:2. Not only is there sparse evidence in Hebrews to suggest an intentional development of an interpretive tradition, but the connection to an exegetical tradition developed from Num 5:15 is likely severed when one examines who is the subject of the ἀνάμνησις.

Hebrews 10:3 allows for two possible interpretations based on who is the subject of the ἀνάμνησις. On the one hand, God could be the one who remembers, in which case "the sins were *called to God's mind* by these offerings."[207] This interpretation is a universalization of Philo's statements (even if unintentional) and would also represent the opposite function of the new covenant promise that "I will remember their sins and their lawless deeds no more [τῶν

205 Farrar, *Hebrews*, 128; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 1:71–72; Sowers, *Philo and Hebrews*, 71; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 272; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 504; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 318; Koester, *Hebrews*, 432; Thompson, *Hebrews*, 195; contra Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 165; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 392; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 496.

206 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 1:71–72; Sowers, *Philo and Hebrews*, 71; cf. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 272–73; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 318.

207 Fuhrmann, "Failures Forgotten," 308. Similarly Attridge, *Hebrews*, 272; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 164–65; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 347; cf. Hughes, *Hebrews*, 392; Joslin, *Law*, 239.

ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ μνησθήσομαι ἔτι]" (10:17). On the other hand, those who offer the sacrifices could be those who remember, in which case the sacrifices remind the worshipers of their own sins.[208] This latter position is preferable, because it fits the context best. The adversative conjunction ἀλλά contrasts v. 3 to v. 2. Instead of having purified believers so they no longer have an awareness of their sins (συνείδησιν ἁμαρτιῶν), the sacrifices actually remind them of their sins (ἀνάμνησις ἁμαρτιῶν).[209] The context is clearly speaking of the consciousness and remembrance by the worshipers (λατρεύοντας).

The author connects worshipers' remembrance of their sins with the Day of Atonement sacrifice, when he describes their remembrance as taking place annually (κατ' ἐνιαυτόν). The background of the remembrance of sins, therefore, was likely the solemn nature that the Day of Atonement took by the first century. The Day of Atonement was not only a day on which unique sacrifices were offered, but it was also a day of fasting, self-denial, prayers, repentance, and rest from work (Lev 16:20–22; 23:26–33; Num 29:7–11; *Jub.* 5:18; 34:18; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.193–203).[210] Although the end goal was the atonement for sins, it was a day during which the believers reflected on their sinfulness, and the author of Hebrews describes this reflection as ἀνάμνησις ἁμαρτιῶν.

5.2.8 Take Away Sins

While examining Hebrews's critique of the old covenant cult topically, we have, in these last few sections, been following the progression of arguments in Heb 10:1–4, starting with "the law has a shadow," moving through the cult's inability to cleanse the conscience and then the reminder of sins. This section of critique culminates with v. 4, which contains what some consider Hebrews's most radical critique of the levitical cult:[211] "For it is impossible for the blood of bulls and

208 Williamson, *Philo and Hebrews*, 169–70, 182; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:261; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 495; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:210–11; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 200, 206. Philip Hughes thinks that the author here may be "potentially ambivalent, in that the yearly sacrifices not only reminded the people of their own sinfulness but also reminded them that *God remembers sin*" (*Hebrews*, 392).

209 Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:261; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:210; Koester, *Hebrews*, 437.

210 Cf. O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 347.

211 Esp. Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:304; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 497; similarly, Attridge, *Hebrews*, 273; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 505; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:212; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 319.

goats to take away sins [ἀφαιρεῖν ἁμαρτίας]." The author reiterates this argument in v. 11, when stating that the levitical high priest "stands day after day at his service, offering again and again the same sacrifices that can never take away sins [οὐδέποτε δύνανται περιελεῖν ἁμαρτίας]."[212] It is difficult to determine precisely what salvific good is in mind when the author speaks of the ἀφαιρεῖν and περιαιρεῖν of sins. Once again, one can identify this salvific good with either *forgiveness* or *redemption*.

The use in the LXX of the cognate verbs ἀφαιρεῖν, περιαιρεῖν, and αἱρεῖν with a term for sin as the object seems to support the identification with *forgiveness*. In Lev 10:17, Moses reprimands Aaron's sons for not eating the sin offering, and he reminds them of the significance of the sin offering—i. e., the sin offering is "most holy" and "God has given it to you that you may remove the guilt [ἀφέλητε τὴν ἁμαρτίαν] of the congregation, to make atonement [ἐξιλάσησθε] on their behalf before the LORD." The verb ἀφαιρεῖν here translates the Hebrew נָשָׂא, but the pairing with ἐξιλάσκεσθαι/כפר suggests that "to take away" refers to *forgiveness*, since Leviticus repeatedly pairs סָלַח/ἀφιέναι and כפר/ἐξιλάσκεσθαι.[213] Similarly, in Exod 34:7, the LORD describes himself as "forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin [ἀφαιρῶν ἀνομίας καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ ἁμαρτίας]." Here again, ἀφαιρεῖν translates the Hebrew verb נָשָׂא, and two verses later Moses prays, "Although this is a stiff-necked people, pardon our iniquity and our sin [ἀφελεῖς σὺ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν]." The LXX translators once more use ἀφαιρεῖν, but this time it translates סְלַח. The translators, therefore, appear to identify the נָשָׂא of 34:7 with סְלַח in 34:9, and they use ἀφαιρεῖν to express this forgiveness of sins. The verb ἀφαιρεῖν and its cognates are used in the rest of the LXX to translate נָשָׂא (Num 14:17; 1 Sam 15:25; 25:28), סור (Zech 3:4; Isa 1:16; 6:17; 27:9), and on one occasion כפר (Isa 27:9), and in general appear to refer to the forgiveness of sins.[214] They typically reflect the usage in Exod 34:7 in that they speak of God offering forgiveness. On two occasions the ἀφαιρεῖν of sins happens in a cultic context, notably in the heavenly sanctuary (Zech 3:4; Isa 6:7). Based on Hebrews's reliance on the LXX and appeal to a heavenly sanc-

212 For the identification of περιαιρεῖν and ἀφαιρεῖν, see Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 140; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:309; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 201. Grässer argues that περιαιρεῖν is a stronger term than ἀφαιρεῖν (*Hebräer*, 2:227; cf. Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:256).

213 For the connection between Lev 10:17 and Heb 10:4, 11, see Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:227 – 28; Koester, *Hebrews*, 434.

214 Num 14:17; 1 Sam 15:25; 25:28; 1 Chron 21:8; Isa 1:16; 6:7; 27:9; Zech 3:4; Sir 47:11; cf. Zeph 3.11, 15.

tuary, there is some evidence that Heb 10:4 and 10:11 speak of the forgiveness of sins.[215]

On the face of it, interpreting ἀφαιρεῖν ἁμαρτίας and περιελεῖν ἁμαρτίας in 10:4 and 10:11, respectively, as forgiveness would run counter to one of the main conclusions made earlier in this chapter. If the old covenant sacrifices achieved the forgiveness of sins, how then could Heb 10:4 and 10:11 say that they could *never take away sins?* It is, however, possible to fit this view into the sacramental typology view espoused here. Hebrews 10:1, as argued above, identifies the cultic aspect of the law as a shadow of the good things that come in Christ. They are the external signs and rituals that signify the effecting of a salvific good. The sacrifices of bulls and goats are not efficacious in themselves. They do not function *ex opere operato*, but they are efficacious only when God deems them appropriate and only because God established them as the means of accessing the salvific goods of Christ's sacrifice.[216] In this way, the author could say that the sacrifices of bulls and goats could never ἀφαιρεῖν ἁμαρτίας and mean that they could never *forgive sins*. The author would not be denying that the old covenant sacrifices effected forgiveness of sins, but he would be stating that, because of their shadowy nature that made them external signs of an internal efficacy, the levitical sacrifices themselves did not achieve the efficacy. The efficacy was only achieved by the willful, obedient sacrifice of Christ.[217]

However, while the ἀφαιρεῖν and περιελεῖν ἁμαρτίας may refer to *forgiveness*, it is more likely that they refer to *redemption.*[218] These verbs, in general, refer to removal; therefore, it is possible that, rather than speaking of the removal of the punishment due sin (i.e., forgiveness or remission), the author is speaking of the final, ultimate removal of sin that requires the appropriate payment (redemption). Such a reading is supported by three arguments.

First, the inability of the levitical sacrifices to take away sins is contrasted with Christ's sacrifice that removes sin (εἰς ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας; 9:26) and bears the sins of many (εἰς τὸ πολλῶν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἁμαρτίας; 9:28). This latter phrase, as will be discussed in the next chapter, is likely a reference to the serv-

215 For those who consider the "taking away of sins" to be the equivalent of forgiveness, see Brown, *Hebrews*, 438, 445; Di Giovambattista, *Giorno dell'espiazione*, 189; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 200; Joslin, *Law*, 252; cf. Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:204.

216 In this vein, Spicq thinks this verse reflects the comments of the prophets who reminded the worshipers that the sacrifices were not efficacious *ex opere operato*, but only when God accepted the intentions and heart of the believer. The sacrifices themselves were simply rituals with an exterior efficacy (*Hébreux*, 2:303–4). For others who see a connection to the prophetic critique, see Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 165; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 273; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 319.

217 Cf. Gouge, *Hebrews*, 2:299–300.

218 Cf. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 505 n. 31.

ant song of Isa 53:12. Thus, the connection between the removal of sin and the suffering of Christ suggests a connection to redemption and its connoted payment through suffering and death.

Second, the identification of ἀφαιρεῖν and περιελεῖν ἁμαρτίας with redemption fits the findings in the rest of the letter. The author considers the old covenant sacrifices to have effected forgiveness (the punishment due sin), but not redemption. The debt due for the violation of the law was not paid until Christ's sacrifice so that, although the punishment due sins was removed from the people, the sins committed under the old covenant were not finally dealt with and, therefore, not ultimately removed. Such a notion would also fit the argument of Heb 10:1–4. The sacrifices were not finally and ultimately able to deal with sin, because they were shadows of the reality (10:1a). Further, the inability to finally redeem and remove sins is the reason why worshipers could not be perfected (10:1b). The author then contrasts the inability of the sacrifices to cleanse the conscience of the worshiper (10:2) with the remembrance of sins that they did effect (10:3). The consciousness and remembrance of sins were identified above as the subjective aspect of the lack of objective redemption. Thus, when the author transitions with a causal connection (γάρ) to v. 4, it is fitting that he would refer to the inability of the sacrifices to redeem sin. The reason the sacrifices were repeated was not that they did not accomplish forgiveness (which they did), but because the old covenant sacrifices were not able to deal with sins once for all—i.e., to redeem them.[219]

Third, such a reading may find support in the New Testament usages of ἀφαιρεῖν and αἴρειν followed by a term for sin. In John 1:29, John the Baptist sees Jesus coming and declares, "Here is the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world [αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου]." While there is significant scholarly debate concerning this passage, the appeal to the "Lamb of God" likely alludes to the Servant Song of Isaiah 53 (ἀμνός; v. 7), just like Heb 9:28 does. Thus, in keeping with the Servant Song, the author of Hebrews may use a form of the verb αἴρειν in 10:4 and 11, like John 1:29, to refer to the representative bearing of the punishment of sin, by which Christ paid the price and redeemed sin.[220] The other references to the *removal of sin* in the New Testament do not make direct allusions to the Servant Songs; however, they do speak of the salvific reality that is achieved by Christ under the new covenant. First John 3:5 says, "You know that he was revealed to take away sins [ἵνα τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἄρῃ]." Ro-

219 Cf. Lenski, *Hebrews and James*, 326; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 392–93.

220 Joachim Jeremias, "αἴρω, κτλ," *TDNT* 1:186; cf. Günter Röhser, *Metaphorik und Personifikation der Sünde: Antike Sündenvorstellungen und paulinische Hamartia*, WUNT 2/25 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 59–65; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 505 n. 31; Löhr, *Umkehr*, 17–18.

mans 11:26b–27 includes a conglomeration of Old Testament quotations (Isa 59:20–21; Isa 27:9), which allows Paul to connect the taking away of sins (ἀφέλωμαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν) with the covenant. Finally, Col 2:14 speaks of the believers' indebtedness to the law under the first covenant; while the law demonstrated their transgressions, Christ was able to remove (ἦρκεν) this indebtedness by nailing it to the cross (προσηλώσας αὐτὸ τῷ σταυρῷ). Christ's suffering paid for and removed (redeemed) the people's debt due because of sin.[221]

Ultimately, this reader thinks that the development of Hebrews's argument and the early Christian traditions regarding the removal of sin support the identification of ἀφαιρεῖν and περιελεῖν ἁμαρτίας with redemption. The taking away of sins is an exclusively new covenant reality that was not possible under the first covenant (unlike forgiveness). However, this reading is not unassailable, and it is worth noting that the alternate reading—identifying ἀφαιρεῖν and περιελεῖν ἁμαρτίας with forgiveness—still fits (although admittedly not as well) the overall proposal of a sacramental-typological reading of old covenant sacrifices.

5.2.9 Sins of Ignorance

Before proceeding, we need to address the proposal that the old covenant sacrifices were restricted to atoning sins of ignorance, whereas Christ's sacrifice not only took away sins of ignorance but high-handed or willful sins.[222] This proposal is based primarily on the use of the noun ἀγνόημα in Heb 9:7, where the author describes the old covenant Day of Atonement, noting that the high priest offered "for himself and for the sins committed unintentionally [ἀγνοημάτων] by the people." In contrast, Christ's sacrifice purifies the conscience from dead works (ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων; 9:14), and the dead works are identified as high-handed or willful sins. A couple of considerations, however, militate against this distinction.

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221 Lane and O'Brien argue that 10:4 and 10:11 refer to the inability to effect a *decisive* cleansing or forgiveness (Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:261–62; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 347). One could argue, in this way, that the old covenant sacrifices attained forgiveness but not *decisive* forgiveness. While such a distinction could fit the author's argument, it does not appear to be the meaning present in these verses. The author argues that the sacrifices could *never* (οὐδέποτε) take away sins, which suggests that the author disallowed for any kind of taking away of sin (in this theory, any kind of cleansing or forgiveness) whether decisive or temporary. Rather, if one wants to highlight the *decisive* effect of Christ's work, why not identify the taking away of sins with Christ's *eternal* redemption, by which Christ pays the price for sin and removes it once-for-all?

222 See above, p. 9 n. 22.

First, while many scholars assume ἀγνόημα is a technical term for unintentional sins,[223] the lexical evidence does not support this assumption. The LXX traditions do not use ἀγνόημα to translate any of the texts that distinguish between sins of ignorance and high-handed sins (e.g, Lev 4:2, 13; 5:15, 18; Num 15:22–31), but they use ἀκουσίως in each instance. The term ἀγνόημα occurs on six occasions in most LXX traditions. In Gen 43:12, ἀγνόημα translates מִשְׁגֶּה, referring to the mistake by which the silver wound up back in the bags of Joseph's brothers despite the brothers' ignorance concerning how it got there. Similarly, Sir 51:19 speaks of "my ignorance [ἀγνοήματα] of [wisdom]," so ἀγνόημα, in keeping with the cognate verb ἀγνοεῖν, refers to a mistake that results from ignorance or inability (similarly *Jos. Asen.* 13:12–13; cf. 12:5; 17:10).[224] In the remaining four uses of ἀγνόημα, it is used in a parallel construction with ἁμαρτίαις (Tob 3:3), ἁμαρτήματα (1 Macc 13:39; Sir 23:2), and ἁμαρτάνουσιν (Jdt 5:20),[225] suggesting that there is little or no difference between sin and ἀγνόημα. Likewise, the verb ἀγνοεῖν is used in parallel with ἁμαρτάνεῖν (1 Sam 26:21 and Dan 9:15). In addition, while Leviticus usually speaks of people sinning unintentionally with the expression ἐὰν ἁμάρτῃ ἀκουσίως, some LXX manuscripts use the expression ἐὰν ἀγνοήσῃ ἀκουσίως to translate Lev 4:13. This translation tradition demonstrates that the verb ἀγνοεῖν did not itself denote unintentional sinning, but it had to be modified by ἀκουσίως. Thus, there is no conclusive evidence that ἀγνόημα or its cognate verb ἀγνοεῖν is a technical term for unintentional sins; rather, the lexical evidence suggests that it is a synonym for sins or errors in general that were perhaps performed due to ignorance or inability.[226]

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223 Westcott, *Hebrews*, 251; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:253; Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 148; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 320–21; Stuhlmacher, *Biblische Theologie*, 2:102–3; Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 242–43; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 239; Gordon, "Better Promises," 434–49, esp. 442; Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 157; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 435–36; Stanley, "Parable," 389; Di Giovambattista, *Giorno dell'espiazione*, 183–87; Johnson, *Going Outside the Camp*, 103; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 311; cf. Marshall, "Soteriology in Hebrews," 268–69.

224 Some might wonder what the difference is between a mistake resulting from ignorance/inability and a sin of ignorance, and one might identify such a mistake as a sin of ignorance if required to categorize that mistake. Yet, the point being made here is that the texts use ἀγνόημα to identify an action as a mistake (e.g., מִשְׁגֶּה), perhaps further qualifying the cause of the mistake (ignorance/inability). The texts do not appear interested in identifying the category of sin with which the mistake should be identified. Thus, ἀγνόημα is not used in a technical sense to identify a category of sin but in a general sense to identify an action as a mistake (caused by weakness, inability, or ignorance).

225 Cf. 2 Chr 16:9 and 3 Macc 3:9, where ἀγνοεῖν appears on its own and appears to denote sin or error.

226 Cf. Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 117; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 255 n. 28; Koester, *Hebrews*, 397.

Second, since there are no lexical grounds upon which to argue that ἀγνόημα was a technical term, ἀγνόημα in Heb 9:7 should be interpreted in light of the context of Hebrews, notably 5:1–3 and 7:26–28. Hebrews 5:2 contains the book's only use of the verb ἀγνοεῖν. Verses 1–3 describe how the old covenant high priest was chosen from among mortals (v. 1), because "he is able to deal gently with the ignorant [ἀγνοοῦσιν] and wayward [πλανωμένοις], since he himself is subject to weakness [ἀσθένειαν]" (v. 2). The human condition is characterized by ignorance, waywardness, and weakness; and the result of the failures of the human condition is the need for sacrifices that the high priest offers first for himself and then for the people (v. 3). Hebrews 7:26–28 makes a similar argument. Whereas Christ is a high priest who is "holy, blameless, undefiled, separated from sinners, and exalted above the heavens" (v. 26), the levitical high priest must perform sacrifices first for himself and then for the people (v. 27), because they are subject to weakness (ἀσθένειαν) (v. 28). Again, the human condition of weakness results in sacrifices that are offered repeatedly. Thus, in Heb 9:7, when the author speaks of the levitical high priest offering blood "for himself and for the ἀγνοημάτων committed by the people," it seems fitting to interpret this statement in light of 5:1–3 and 7:26–28. If one reads these verses together, the ἀγνοημάτων are the errors or mistakes that the people make as a result of the human condition characterized by ignorance, waywardness, and weakness. They are sins committed out of the weaknesses of the human condition, the weaknesses that are addressed and resolved by the promises of the new covenant, when believers will have the law written on their hearts and they will *know* the Lord. Thus, the context of Hebrews suggests that ἀγνόημα denotes sins in general and not unintentional sins in contrast to high-handed sins. With this understanding, Hebrews's description of the Day of Atonement would conform more closely to that in Leviticus, since Lev 16:16 speaks of the atonement of "all their sins [περὶ πασῶν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν]," which presumably would cover unintentional and intentional sins.

Third, even if ἀγνοημάτων in Heb 9:7 referred to unintentional sins,[227] one would still struggle to distinguish between old covenant and new covenant sacrifices on this point. Hebrews 10:26 states that, under the new covenant order established through Christ's blood, "if we willfully persist in sin [ἑκουσίως ἁμαρτανόντων ἡμῶν] after having received the knowledge of the truth, there no longer remains a sacrifice for sins [περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν]." The adverb ἀκουσίως

227 There are some texts that appear to use a cognate of ἀγνόημα to refer to unintentional sins. *Testament of Levi* 3:5 and *Pss. Sol.* 3:8; 18:4 use ἄγνοια in cultic contexts, even speaking of atoning such sins.

used in the LXX to denote sins of ignorance is the negation of the adverb ἑκουσίως used in Heb 10:26. Thus, Hebrews does not allow for the atonement of high-handed sins even under the new covenant. The author does not appear to be making a distinction between the old and new covenant based on their ability to cope with different types of sin (unintentional, intentional, or high-handed).[228] Rather, the ἀγνοημάτων of 9:7 refer to all sins that result from the weakness of the human condition, which are atoned for under the old covenant, and 10:26 describes what happens when one willfully rejects the sacrifice of Christ—i.e., no other sacrifice remains.

228 Cf. Isaacs, *Sacred Space*, 92–95; Stuhlmacher, *Biblische Theologie*, 102–3; Löhr, *Umkehr*, 23–27; Compton, *Psalm 110*, 111–12. For a discussion of these three categories for sin, see Jay Sklar, "Sin and Atonement: Lessons from the Pentateuch," *BBR* 22 (2012): 467–91, esp. 471–85.

6 New Covenant Sacrifice

We have discussed what Hebrews considers the old covenant sacrifices to have accomplished as well as what they could not accomplish (ch. 5). We now turn to examine what Christ's new covenant sacrifice accomplished. The characteristics of many of the salvific goods to be described in this chapter have been discussed in the previous chapter (e. g., τελειοῦν). In addition, there is less debate about ascribing these goods to Christ, so we will be able to move more quickly through the discussion of the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice.

6.1 Atonement

We begin with what is likely the most contentious topic of this chapter: What does εἰς τὸ ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ in 2:17 mean? Two somewhat distinct debates embroil this discussion, and we will start with the more long-standing debate before moving on to a recent development that further complicates this discussion.

The first main debate concerns whether ἱλάσκεσθαι refers to expiation or propitiation. This debate, however, is not confined to Heb 2:17; rather, scholars have debated at length the meaning of the ἱλάσκεσθαι word-group throughout the entire LXX and New Testament. In pagan uses in Hellenistic Greek, the ἱλάσκεσθαι word-group is used almost exclusively to denote *propitiation* or *appeasement*.[1] In the LXX, God is never the object of the ἱλάσκεσθαι word-group, which led C. H. Dodd to argue that the LXX never has propitiation in mind.[2] However, Dodd did not consider the context of the usage of ἱλάσκεσθαι, and many of the occurences of ἱλάσκεσθαι appear in the context of discussions of God's wrath.[3] The sense of propitiation in ἱλάσκεσθαι/ἐξιλάσκεσθαι is especially clear in the non-cultic usages in the LXX.[4] The meaning in cultic contexts is a bit more difficult, because the meaning of ἱλάσκεσθαι becomes connected to sacrifice theology. Of the 105 instances of כִּפֶּר, the LXX uses the verb ἐξιλάσκεσθαι

1 Morris, *Apostolic Preaching*, 145 – 47; Hill, *Greek Words*, 24; cf. Büchsel, "ἱλάσκομαι, κτλ," *TDNT* 3:310 – 12; C. H. Dodd, "ΙΛΑΣΚΕΣΘΑΙ, its Cognates, Derivatives, and Synonyms, in the Septuagint," *JTS* 32 (1931): 352.

2 Dodd, "ΙΛΑΣΚΕΣΘΑΙ," 352 – 60, esp. 359.

3 Morris, *Apostolic Preaching*, 147 – 74; Hill, *Greek Words*, 25 – 36.

4 Exod 32:14; 2 Sam 21:3; 2 Kgs 24:4; 2 Chr 6:30; Prov 16:14; Sir 3:3, 30; 5:6; 16:7; 20:28; 28:5; cf. Zech 7:2; 8:22; Mal 1:9.

to translate it 83 times. In light of modern scholarship on כִּפֶּר, scholars conclude that ἐξιλάσκεσθαι in these places clearly refers to expiation. Leviticus speaks of the cleansing, removing, and forgiving of sins, not the appeasement of divine wrath. However, the use of ἐξιλάσκεσθαι in cultic contexts is probably not stripped of the sense of propitiation. While the sacrifices may have been "performed as a means of expiation, the whole action was regarded as propitiatory, because the consequences due to sin in the divine wrath were averted."[5] Based on this conclusion, David Hill argues that, when the ἱλάσκεσθαι word-group was formalized in the sacrificial system, it likely contained both the ideas of propitiation and expiation, resulting in a sense akin to *atonement* or *reconciliation*.[6]

Against the backdrop of this linguistic debate, scholars have discussed whether ἱλάσκεσθαι in Heb 2:17 speaks of propitiation or expiation. Some scholars maintain that expiation is exclusively in mind.[7] These scholars point out that the object of ἱλάσκεσθαι is τὰς ἁμαρτίας and not God. Propitiation, it is supposed, requires God to be the object, whereas expiation takes sins as its object.[8] Further, Thomas Knöppler notes the cultic context of 2:17 with its reference to the high priest (ἀρχιερεύς) and τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν (cf. 5:1), and he assumes that the cultic context presumes expiation and the removal of sins.[9] Christ's sacrifice, just like levitical sacrifices, it is reasoned, "is always directed at removing sin and its effects, not at propitiating God."[10]

Even though the wrath of God is not mentioned in the context of Heb 2:17, some scholars argue that ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας denotes propitiation,[11] and Leon Morris marshals three primary arguments for this position. First, he argues that the description of Christ as a *merciful* (ἐλεήμων) high priest suggests that the sinners are "in no good case," because they realize their need for mercy in light of the severe punishment due their sins.[12] Second, he argues that the phrase τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν directs the readers' minds "to the Godward rather than the manward aspect of atonement. A Godward aspect expressed by ἱλάσκομαι is likely to

5 Hill, *Greek Words*, 34; similarly Morris, *Apostolic Preaching*, 167 – 73.

6 Hill, *Greek Words*, 35 – 36.

7 Büchsel, *TDNT* 3:315 – 17; Dodd, "ΙΛΑΣΚΕΣΘΑΙ," 360; Moffatt, *Hebrews*, xxxv; Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 67 – 68; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 96; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 188 – 89; Knöppler, *Sühne*, 215 – 17; Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 277.

8 Büchsel, *TDNT* 3:316; Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 68; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 96 n. 192.

9 Knöppler, *Sühne*, 215 – 17.

10 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 96 n. 192; similarly Moffatt, *Hebrews*, xxxv.

11 Hughes, *Hebrews*, 121; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:66; cf. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 57; Bruce, *Hebrews*, 53; cf. nn. 15, 17.

12 Morris, *Apostolic Preaching*, 202.

include propitiation, to put it mildly."[13] Third, Morris notes that ἱλάσκεσθαι or ἐξιλάσκεσθαι followed by an accusative of sin by no means presumes the meaning of expiation to the exclusion of propitiation. For instance, in Sirach 5:6 the object of ἐξιλάσεται is τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν μου, but the rest of the verse describes how God has both mercy (ἔλεος) and wrath (ὀργή), with his anger (θυμός) resting on sinners (cf. Sir 28:5; 34:19). Although it is sin that is ἐξιλάσκεσθαι, the result of ἐξιλάσκεσθαι is the appeasement of God's wrath and anger. In keeping with such a usage, Morris concludes that the accusative τὰς ἁμαρτίας in Heb 2:17 is likely an accusative of respect, so that the phrase can be translated "to make propitiation with regard to the sins of the people."[14]

Many scholars have concluded appropriately that ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας in Heb 2:17 contains both the notions of expiation and propitiation.[15] Since ἱλάσκεσθαι can have either meaning, one must determine the meaning based on the context. Hebrews contains descriptions of an expiatory function for Christ's sacrifice, which purifies the people (Heb 1:3; 9:14), forgives sins (10:18), and takes away sins (10:26, 28).[16] Hebrews also contains significant references to God's wrath, providing "repeated 'no-nonsense' portrayals of God (3:7–4:13; 6:8; 10:26–31; 12:5–11, 18–21, 25–29). In these passages God is said to be angry (3:10–11, 17; 4:3); vengeful (10:27–31; 12:25); fearful (12:21); a disciplinarian (12:5–11); and destructive in his judgment (6:8; 10:27; 12:26–29)."[17] It is only by means of Christ's expiatory sacrifice that God's wrath toward sin is appeased. Thus, Hebrews contains notions of both expiation and propitiation, which may suggest, in keeping with David Hill's understanding of the ἱλάσκεσθαι word-group in cultic texts of the LXX, that the sense of ἱλάσκεσθαι is *reconciliation*

13 Ibid., 202–3.

14 Ibid., 203–4, here 204. For the accusative of respect, also see Hughes, *Hebrews*, 121; Lane, *Hebrews*, 1:66; Simon Kistemaker, "Atonement in Hebrews," in *The Glory of the Atonement: Biblical, Historical and Practical Perspectives*, ed. Roger R. Nicole, Charles E. Hill, and Frank A. James (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2004), 166–67.

15 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:48; Hill, *Greek Words*, 34–35, 38; Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 77; Bruce, *Hebrews*, 41–42 n. 57; Koester, *Hebrews*, 122, 233, 241; Kistemaker, "Atonement in Hebrews," 163–75, esp. 166; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 177, 186; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 121; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 151.

16 Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 189; Koester, *Hebrews*, 122; Barry C. Joslin, "Christ Bore the Sins of Many: Substitution and the Atonement in Hebrews," *SBJT* 11 (2007): 93–95; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 186; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 121.

17 Mackie, *Eschatology*, 186; similarly Koester, *Hebrews*, 122; Kistemaker, "Atonement in Hebrews," 164; Joslin, "Christ Bore," 91–95; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 121–22.

or *atonement*, "which includes ideas of forgiveness, as well as of expiation and propitiation."[18]

The second main debate calls into question the entire first debate. Two recent German monographs have argued that ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας in Heb 2:17 does not have a cultic context that would lead to the translations *atonement, expiation, or propitiation*, but it has a non-cultic context and should be translated *to have mercy on* or *to forgive*. Georg Gäbel and Sebastian Fuhrmann argue that the author's unique collocation ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας does not have any parallels in the cultic texts of the LXX. When the LXX translates כִּפֶּר in cultic contexts, it almost always uses ἐξιλάσκεσθαι, and it never uses ἱλάσκεσθαι.[19] Instead, each instance of ἱλάσκεσθαι in the LXX refers to God having mercy on people (Exod 32:14; 2 Kgs 5:18; 24:4; 2 Chron 6:30; Ps 24:11; 64:4; 77:38; 78:9; Lam 3:42; Dan 9:19). Further, the accusative construction τὰς ἁμαρτίας following the verb is distinctive. When ἐξιλάσκεσθαι is used in cultic contexts for *atonement* or *expiation*, the objects of expiation can be things, people, or sins; however, when sins are the objects of atonement, the noun is used in a prepositional phrase (e. g., Lev 5:10; 16:34; Exod 32:30). In contrast, sins are the object of ἱλάσκεσθαι in the LXX on four occasions, and each time the verse contains an appeal to God to have mercy on or to forgive a person's sin (LXX Ps 24:11; 64:4; 77:38; 78:9). In three of these verses, the dative is used, but in LXX Ps 64:4 the accusative is used ("you forgive our transgressions [τὰς ἀσεβείας ἡμῶν σὺ ἱλάσῃ]"). Since ἱλάσκεσθαι with a direct object of sins is used in non-cultic contexts in the LXX, Gäbel and Fuhrmann conclude that ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας in Heb 2:17 must be non-cultic. In addition, their proposed background of Hebrews's unique collocation leads them to conclude that ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας does not refer to Christ's making atonement for sins but to *God's having mercy* on sin (cf. Luke 18:13). The presumed subject of the infinitive is God, not Christ. Gäbel and Fuhrmann identify God's having mercy in 2:17 with the new covenant promise of LXX Jer 38:34 quoted in Heb 8:12 that God will forgive or have mercy on their wickedness (ἵλεως ἔσομαι ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν). With God as the subject of the infinitive, Christ's role in 2:17–18 is not to expiate sins through his sacrifice but to intercede on behalf of human beings. Since Christ suffered when he was tempted, he is able to intercede on behalf of his brothers (2:18) so that God might be merciful toward them.

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18 Hill, *Greek Words*, 38. Similarly Koester, *Hebrews*, 121; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 122; Schreiner, *Hebrews*, 109–10; cf. Richardson, *Pioneer*, 33.

19 For the following arguments, see Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 218–27; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 18–30; Fuhrmann, "Failures Forgotten," esp. 308–12.

A couple of considerations, however, militate against this position. First, it requires that the author and his audience considered ἐξιλάσκεσθαι to be the cultic term for atonement, whereas ἱλάσκεσθαι could only be considered in a non-cultic context where it must denote God's having mercy on sin. However, it is more likely that the author and audience considered ἱλάσκεσθαι and ἐξιλάσκεσθαι synonymous. Just as the LXX uses ἱλάσκεσθαι to refer to God having mercy or being favorably disposed, so the LXX uses ἐξιλάσκεσθαι in this sense (Sir 5:6; 16:7; Mal 1:9; cf. Gen 32:21; Prov 16:14), thereby suggesting synonymity. Further, while Second Temple texts predominantly use ἐξιλάσκεσθαι in cultic contexts (probably due to the LXX using this verb exclusively for כִּפֶּר in Leviticus), Philo and Sibylline Oracles use ἱλάσκεσθαι in cultic contexts,[20] thereby demonstrating that the verb ἱλάσκεσθαι was not considered an explicitly non-cultic verb in the first century CE.[21]

In addition, even if one allows that the lexical and grammatical background for Hebrews's unique collocation finds a background in non-cultic texts, these considerations do not establish Heb 2:17 as a non-cultic text. The verse establishes Christ as high priest (ἀρχιερεύς) who does τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Hebrews 5:1 also uses the phrase τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, where it clearly refers to the high priests' cultic duties: "Every high priest [ἀρχιερεύς] chosen from among mortals is put in charge of things pertaining to God [τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν] on their behalf, to offer gifts and sacrifices for sins" (cf. Exod 4:16). Further, although θεόν is the last noun in 2:17 before the infinitive phrase εἰς τὸ ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας, Christ is the subject and focus of the sentence and the most likely subject of the infinitive. Christ had to become like the ἀδελφοῖς, in order that (ἵνα) he might become a high priest for the purpose that (εἰς + infinitive) he might make atonement for the sins of the people.[22] The very purpose of Christ's becoming high priest is that he might perform the cultic duties and, thereby, ἱλάσκεσθαι. Thus, even if the grammatical construction of ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας sug-

20 Philo, *Planting* 162; *Names* 233–36; *Spec. Laws* 1.234; *Sib. Or.* 3:626–68.

21 Richardson notes examples in the LXX where "the absence of the prefix does not at all require a change in meaning … ἐκκλησιάζω and ἐξεκκλησιάζω (Lev. 8.3–4), ἐρημόω and ἐξερημόω (Lev. 26.30–32, 43), and, above all, ἐξιλασμός (Lev. 23.28) and ἱλασμός (Lev. 25.9; cf. Num. 5.8)" (*Pioneer*, 33 n. 78).

22 Knöppler also argues that the plural sins may suggest the context of the Day of Atonement (*Sühne*, 216–17). For the grammatical function of the infinitive, see Richardson, *Pioneer*, 34–35.

gests a non-cultic background, one must read this statement in the cultic context established by Heb 2:17.[23]

Therefore, ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας in Heb 2:17 most likely refers to atonement through Christ's sacrifice, which includes both the expiation of sin and the propitiation of God's wrath. The author only uses the term ἱλάσκεσθαι in reference to Christ's sacrifice; therefore, it is unclear whether atonement is only a salvific reality of the new covenant and Christ's sacrifice or whether atonement was also an effect of the old covenant sacrifices. Due to the unanimity with which the Old Testament and Second Temple literature ascribes atonement to sacrifice and due to the usage of the Day of Atonement as the primary pattern with which the author describes Christ's sacrifice, one cannot help but presume that the author and audience understood the old covenant sacrifices to include atonement. Such an understanding would be consistent with the findings in the last chapter, as the old covenant sacrifices would be involved in reconciling the relationship with God and appeasing his wrath toward sin. There is some conceptual difficulty in arguing that the old covenant sacrifices expiated sins without fully removing them, but such a notion seems to be in play in Hebrews. While the sacrifices functioned to maintain relationship with God and may have expiated or removed sins (or the punishment due sins) from the people, in some sense they still remained, because they had not been redeemed. God did not hold the sins against believers, but the sins still had not been paid for or, in a legal sense, had not been removed from the ledger. The atonement of the new covenant would be different, in that it would both include redemption and be once-for-all.

6.2 Forgiveness

The two main salvific efficacies ascribed to sacrifice in Leviticus and reiterated throughout Second Temple literature are atonement and forgiveness. Thus, it seems natural that Christ's sacrifice would achieve atonement and forgiveness, and this latter category is implicitly ascribed to Christ's sacrifice in Hebrews 10:18. The author concludes his description of Christ's sacrifice and how it compares to the old covenant sacrifices by stating, "Where there is forgiveness of these [ἄφεσις τούτων], there is no longer any offering for sin." The pronoun τού-

23 Knöppler notes the non-cultic backgrounds to Hebrews's collocation, but he argues that the cultic context of Heb 2:17 must determine the meaning of the word (ibid., 215 – 17, esp. 215 n. 115).

των has as its antecedent sins (ἁμαρτιῶν) and lawless deeds (ἀνομιῶν) from v. 17, so that, as discussed in ch. 5, the forgiveness or remission of sins is clearly in mind.

Based on the development of Hebrews's argument, there is one distinct difference between the forgiveness achieved by Christ's sacrifice and that achieved by the old covenant sacrifices: Christ's sacrifice was once-for-all (ἅπαξ) and did not need to be repeated. The forgiveness achieved by Christ is perpetual and did not simply deal with past sins but with all sins. Christ's once-for-all forgiveness does not mean that the old covenant sacrifices achieved something less than forgiveness while Christ achieved true forgiveness; rather, it means that the same efficacy—forgiveness—is applied to different sets, ranges, or groups of sins (past v. all). The logic of Heb 10:18 is that, since Christ's sacrifice achieves *forgiveness* ἅπαξ, there is no longer any need to achieve forgiveness, making it not only unnecessary for another sacrifice *for sins* (περὶ ἁμαρτίας) to be offered but also impossible. The sacrifices that were a shadow and an anticipation of Christ's sacrifice cannot achieve forgiveness after the establishment of the new covenant.

6.3 Purification

The earliest statement in Hebrews concerning the efficacy of Christ's new covenant sacrifice takes place in 1:3. Hebrews 1:1–4 contains succinct statements about the identity of Christ that develop a profound Christology. In the midst of this section, the author anticipates the discussion that will take place in the heart of the book about Christ's sacrifice: "When he had made purification for sins [καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος], he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high." Although the author does not mention Christ's self-offering, his sacrifice is certainly in mind as the means by which purification takes place (cf. 10:12).[24]

The purification of sins as a salvific good is closely connected to the ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ. In the levitical system, sin is considered defilement that must be cleansed or purified. Therefore, the purification of sins is another way of speaking of the expiation of sins.[25] Leviticus 16:30 identifies the goal of the Day of Atonement and demonstrates the connection between καθαρίζειν and the expiatory aspect of ἱλάσκεσθαι: "For on this day he shall make atone-

24 See the discussion of Heb 1:3 on p. 99.

25 Büchsel, *TDNT* 3:312–17; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 46; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 1:64.

ment [ἐξιλάσεται] for you, to cleanse you from all your sins [καθαρίσαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὑμῶν] before the Lord, and you shall be clean [καθαρισθήσεσθε]" (NETS; cf. Exod 30:10). While the Hebrew Scriptures speak of the purification of sins in several places,[26] the author of Hebrews may have chosen the term καθαρισμός because Ezek 36:25, when describing the new covenant promises, speaks of God purifying his people from all their uncleanness (καθαρισθήσεσθε ἀπὸ πάσῶν τῶν ἀκαθαρσιῶν).[27] Thus, the purification of sins may also anticipate the author's connection between Christ's cultic sacrifice and the inauguration of the new covenant.

Not only does Christ's sacrifice cleanse sins (1:3), but it also cleanses the conscience from dead works (9:14) and cleanses the heavenly things (9:23). The purification of the conscience is intimately connected to the purification of sins in 1:3 and is discussed below (see pp. 225 – 27). The purification of the heavenly things, as discussed above (pp. 119 – 23, 143), was the means by which Christ inaugurated the heavenly sanctuary.

6.4 Sanctification

Christ's sacrifice achieves *consecration* or *sanctification*. This connection is made explicit in Heb 10:10, where the author states that "we have been sanctified [ἡγιασμένοι ἐσμέν] through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all." Hebrews 13:12 also makes this connection, noting that "Jesus also suffered outside the city gate in order to sanctify [ἁγιάσῃ] the people by his own blood," and Heb 10:29 identifies the blood of the covenant as the means "by which they were sanctified [ἡγιάσθη]." Hebrews 2:11 identifies Jesus as the one who sanctifies believers, "for the one who sanctifies [ἁγιάζων] and those who are sanctified [οἱ ἁγιαζόμενοι] all have one Father" (cf. Lev 21:8), but this verse does not identify Christ's sacrifice as the means by which he sanctifies. Finally, Heb 10:14 uses the verb ἁγιάζειν in a substantive participle to denote believers as "those who are sanctified [ἁγιαζομένους]."

As noted previously (p. 191 – 92), the verb ἁγιάζειν is used in cultic contexts to denote the setting apart for a sacred purpose. Consecration includes purification but also moves something or someone from the profane to the sacred, there-

26 E.g., Job 7:21; Exod 30:10; Pss 18:14; 50:4; cf. Exod 20:7; 34:7; Num 14:18; Josh 22:17. For the New Testament, see 2 Peter 1:9.

27 See pp. 226 – 27 below for connections between Hebrews and the new covenant promise of καθαρισμός in Ezek 36:25.

by allowing for increased access to the divine presence for the sake of service.[28] The priests of the old covenant were consecrated to serve God, his sanctuary, and his people. The author of Hebrews uses this relationship between sanctification and service when he contrasts the sanctification available under the old covenant with the purification of the conscience, which enabled new covenant believers to serve the living God (λατρεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι; 9:13–14). Sanctification under the new covenant involves access and service to the living God; however, it is important still to distinguish between ἁγιάζειν and τελειοῦν. The term ἁγιάζειν emphasizes a setting apart for a divine task, whereas the focus of the verb τελειοῦν is the access to God that epitomizes a direct and personal relationship with God.[29]

The use of the present particle in 2:10 and especially 10:14 has led to the question of whether ἁγιάζειν is an ongoing process for believers[30] or is a finished state. Does sanctification include an aspect of moral progress that is given progressively to believers or is it given to them once-for-all? Ἁγιάζειν in the sense of *consecration* is likely a finished state. Levitical priests either were or were not consecrated to the office and tasks of the priesthood. There was no progressive development of this consecration. Thus, when ἁγιάζειν is applied to the new covenant believers in Hebrews with a cultic context, it is quite likely that ἁγιάζειν is the definitive movement of a person from the profane to the sacred in order to be set apart for a unique task. Thus, when Hebrews 10:14 states that "by a single offering he has perfected [τετελείωκεν] for all time those who are sanctified [τοὺς ἁγιαζομένους]," the present participle ἁγιαζομένους is likely a timeless present with which the author refers generally to the believers as "sanctified"[31] (i.e.,

28 Proksch, *TDNT* 1:113; Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 168; Johnsson, "Defilement," 264–65; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 399; Peterson, *Perfection*, 150–51; Rissi, *Theologie des Hebräerbriefs*, 95; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:266, 270; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 164; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:223–24; Peterson, *Possessed by God*, 34; Di Giovambattista, *Giorno dell'espiazione*, 186; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 202; Koester, *Hebrews*, 120–21; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 196–98; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 192; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 357; cf. Knöppler, *Sühne*, 209–10.

29 Peterson, *Perfection*, 151–52; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 196; Calaway, *Sabbath and Sanctuary*, 147–48; cf. Knöppler, *Sühne*, 209–10.

30 Westcott, *Hebrews*, 315; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:310–12; Braun, *Hebräer*, 303; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 281; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:256, 267–68; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 511; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:231.

31 Johnsson, "Defilement," 263; Peterson, *Perfection*, 150; Bruce, *Hebrews*, 241; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:267–68; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 511; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 511; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:224; Peterson, *Possessed by God*, 35; Guthrie, *Hebrews*, 329; Koester, *Hebrews*, 123; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 201; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 193; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 357. Thomas Schreiner adds that the participle does not emphasize time/tense but aspect, leading him to affirm the finished state of the sanctification (*Hebrews*, 306).

as those set apart for a task). Further, sanctification is a prerequisite for perfection,[32] and 10:14 stresses the once-for-all achievement of the perfection of believers. Therefore, the ἁγιάζειν requisite for perfection must also be accomplished.[33] This conclusion does not mean that the author does not think that moral development is a necessary part of the Christian life. It simply means that ἁγιάζειν in Hebrews's cultic argument does not describe such moral progress. Once consecrated, however, believers must serve the living God, which "includes the life of faith, hope and love, as the proper response to God's grace."[34] In this way, while being sanctified or consecrated, believers also pursue ἁγιασμόν (Heb 12:10, 14).

6.5 Perfection

Christ achieves perfection (τελειοῦν) for believers. As discussed above, perfection refers to the direct access to God in the heavenly sanctuary and connotes a direct relationship with God.[35] The connection between this salvific good and Christ's sacrifice is made in 10:14, where the author notes that "by a single offering [Jesus] has perfected [τετελείωκεν] for all time [εἰς τὸ διηνεκές] those who are sanctified."

There is some discussion as to whether perfection is a completely present reality[36] or an already-not-yet salvific reality, in which the ultimate achievement of perfection occurs in the future.[37] In the latter view, perfection is "everlasting life in God's presence,"[38] which "comes to completion only after death, even

32 Contra Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:267 – 68.

33 Johnsson, "Defilement," 263.

34 Peterson, *Perfection*, 151.

35 For this view (or the totality of salvation view) applied to Heb 10:14, see Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:310; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 514; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 511; Koester, *Hebrews*, 435; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 357.

36 Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:310; Peterson, *Perfection*, 152 – 53; Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 285; Rissi, *Theologie des Hebräerbriefs*, 102 – 3; Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 198 – 200; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:256; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 514; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 511; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:231; Thomas, "Perfection and Perfecting," 303; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 598 – 99; cf. Koester, *Hebrews*, 123; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 357.

37 Kögel, "Τελειοῦν im Hebräerbrief," 57 – 59; Michel, "Vollkommenheit," 350 – 51; Käsemann, *Wandernde Gottesvolk*, 88 – 89; Carlston, "Perfection," 147; Isaacs, *Sacred Space*, 102 – 3; Kurianal, *High Priest*, 199 – 200; Koester, *Hebrews*, 123; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 276.

38 Koester, *Hebrews*, 123.

though we already now have a certain access to God."[39] Michel pushes the ultimate achievement of perfection even further into the future, asserting that the Christian is first perfect "in der Parusie des Christus."[40] However, Hebrews appears to describe τελειοῦν as a purely present reality.[41] (1) Perfection, as argued here, is about access to the divine presence, and the author clearly considers such access to be a present reality. The believers are exhorted to draw near (προσερχώμεθα) to God in 10:19–22, because the way into the heavenly Holy of Holies (τὴν εἴσοδον τῶν ἁγίων) has been opened to them by the blood of Jesus (v. 19; similarly 4:16; 7:19, 25). (2) The contrast between the old covenant sacrifices and the new covenant sacrifice in terms of their ability to attain perfection suggests that perfection is a present reality of the new covenant. It seems unlikely that the author would make such a significant point of the inability of the old covenant sacrifices to grant access (9:6–10) and to achieve perfection (7:19; 9:9; 10:1; cf. 7:11), if the payoff is to say that Christ's sacrifice attains perfection, but not yet—not until you die or perhaps until the parousia. The contrast is not that the old covenant *did not* perfect, whereas the new covenant *partially* or *will eventually* perfect; it is between what the old covenant sacrifice *did not do* and what Christ's sacrifice *does*.[42] This is not to say that believers do not continue to contend with sin or do not need final deliverance upon the second coming of Christ (9:28), but to say that the perfection described in Hebrews is a present reality.

Still, it may be that the author distinguishes between the perfection of living and dead believers. Scholer argues that, for living believers, perfection is "a spiritual approach" by which "the worshiper enters into God's presence through the 'inner self.'"[43] In contrast, perfection for dead believers is final entrance into the heavenly sanctuary and participation in the worshipping assembly.[44] David Peterson describes this distinction with slightly different terms, stating that "the ac-

39 Loader, *Sohn*, 45. "Τελείωσις … kommt erst nach dem Tode zur Erfüllung, auch wenn wir schon jetzt einen gewissen Zugang zu Gott haben."

40 Michel, "Vollkommenheit," 355, cf. 350–51. Michel distinguishes between τέλειος and τετελειωμένος. "Auf Erden kann der Christ vollkommen (τέλειος), aber nicht vollendet (τετελειωμένος) sein" (ibid., 351).

41 Some scholars highlight the perfect tense of τετελείωκεν in order to argue that perfection is a past action with continuing effect in the present (Peterson, *Perfection*, 149; Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 285; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:256; Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 188; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 511; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:231; Thomas, "Perfection and Perfecting," 303).

42 deSilva suggests that 10:14 is the answer to 10:1 (*Perseverance*, 324).

43 Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 199. For those who argue for mystical ascent, see Barnard, *Mysticism*, esp. 171–216; Mackie, "Heavenly Sanctuary Mysticism," 79, 99.

44 Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 200; also Peterson, *Perfection*, 147–67, esp. 167; Rissi, *Theologie des Hebräerbriefs*, 103.

cess to the heavenly sanctuary that is available for Christians to enjoy in the present (4:16; 7:25; 10:19 ff) is the earnest of their ultimate transfer to the actual presence of God (6:19 f; 12:22 ff). … Christians may penetrate the sanctuary of heaven by faith now, and ultimately in person in company with believers from all ages."[45] This potential distinction between living and dead believers, however, is not one of partial and complete perfection, and it does not ascribe to living believers something less than perfection. Rather, it concerns how perfection is actualized by the living and the dead. Perfection is a present reality experienced fully, although in different ways, by the living and the dead.[46]

Such a distinction is necessary, in part, because of Heb 11:39 – 40. Hebrews 11 describes the heroes of faith, the πρεσβύτεροι who were approved by God due to their faith (11:2). These ancestors anticipated the promise and inheritance but never received it (11:8, 9, 13, 17, 18, 33, 39). The author culminates his description of the πρεσβύτεροι by saying, "Yet all these, though they were commended for their faith, did not receive what was promised, since God had provided something better [κρεῖττον] so that they would not, apart from us [μὴ χωρὶς ἡμῶν], be made perfect [τελειωθῶσιν]" (11:39 – 40; cf. 12:23).[47] Hebrews speaks of many things that are κρεῖττον: a better hope (7:19); better covenant (7:22; 8:6); better sacrifices (9:23); better possessions (10:34); better country (11:16); and a better word (12:24). However, here the phrase "so that they would not, apart from us, be made perfect" functions epexegetically to explain that which is better.[48] The πρεσβύτεροι had not received what was promised them, a reality that was better than they had experienced, the reality of perfection. They had not received access to the heavenly sanctuary, to the divine presence.[49] The πρεσβύτεροι could not be perfected "without us"—"us" being the believers of the

45 Peterson, *Perfection*, 167.

46 Rissi, *Theologie des Hebräerbriefs*, 102 – 3; Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 200; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 599 – 600.

47 Hebrews 12:23 speaks of "the righteous made perfect [δικαίων τετελειωμένων]," who are part of "the assembly of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven." This verse is another example where τελειοῦν is applied to believers, and it may refer to the old covenant believers now perfected (cf. 11:4, 40) or to all deceased believers both of the old and new covenant. For a discussion of these issues, see Peterson, *Perfection*, 160 – 66.

48 Peterson, *Perfection*, 156 – 57; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:392 – 93; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 261; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 446.

49 In 11:10 and 11:14 – 16, the anticipated promise is identified as a heavenly city (11:10), a heavenly homeland, (11:14), and a heavenly country (11:16). These are equivalents to the heavenly sanctuary, as they all identify presence near and access to the divine. Thus, the description in 11:39 – 40 of the anticipated promises being fulfilled by perfection affirms the identification of perfection with the access to God.

Christian era—because perfection could not happen apart from Christ's sacrifice.[50] While some scholars locate the perfection mentioned in 11:40 with the second coming of Christ,[51] v. 40 appears to have Christ's sacrifice during his first coming in mind. The new covenant believers presently realize perfection (cf. 10:14);[52] therefore, the old covenant believers must also experience it "with us." When Christ inaugurates the new covenant with his sacrifice in the middle of human history, the old covenant saints are perfected. Their status is changed so that they now experience what is promised—i.e., perfection and direct relationship with God.[53] Such a change in status might be directly related to the redemption achieved by Christ's sacrifice. "Those who are called may receive the promised eternal inheritance [cf. 11:8, 9, 13, 17, 18, 33, 39], because a death has occurred that redeems them from the transgressions under the first covenant" (9:15). The author appears to have the πρεσβύτεροι (and their sins committed under the first covenant) already in mind in 9:15, noting that the redemption of sins was necessary for them to receive their promised inheritance.[54] Ultimately, any conclusions about how Hebrews depicts the actualization of perfection by the living and the dead must be modest and restrained.

6.6 Redemption

Christ's sacrifice accomplishes redemption. This salvific good is ascribed to Christ's sacrifice in the midst of 9:11–14, where the author first describes Christ's heavenly sacrifice. Christ arrived in the heavenly sanctuary as a high priest (v. 11), and "he entered [εἰσῆλθεν] once for all into the Holy Place, not with the blood of goats and calves, but with his own blood, thus obtaining eternal redemption [αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν εὑράμενος]" (v. 12). The second mention of redemption occurs in Heb 9:15, which draws on the argument of 9:11–14. Because of

50 Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 191; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 517; Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 359; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 352; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:393; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 447.

51 Barrett, "Eschatology," 382; Loader, *Sohn*, 42–43; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:393; Koester, *Hebrews*, 520–21; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 168.

52 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 352; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 636; Koester, *Hebrews*, 520–21.

53 Geerhardus Vos, *The Teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1956), 124; Rissi, *Theologie des Hebräerbriefs*, 103; Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 147; cf. Du Plessis, *Teleios*, 224; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 3:219–20. David Peterson is not comfortable making such a claim, concluding that "we have insufficient evidence to speak with certainty" about "*when* believers of pre-Chrsitian times actually experience the benefits of Christ's saving work" (*Perfection*, 165).

54 Peterson, *Perfection*, 158; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 255; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 328; Filtvedt, *Identity*, 121.

Christ's heavenly sacrifice (9:11–14), he is the mediator of a new covenant so that those who are called may receive the promised eternal inheritance, "because a death [θανάτου] has occurred that redeems [εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν] them from the transgressions under the first covenant" (9:15).

Sebastian Fuhrmann has argued that the object of redemption is different in vv. 12 and 15. He states that the middle participle εὑράμενος in v. 12 must be understood with a passive connotation so that Christ is the object of redemption. Λύτρωσιν, in this instance, is a liberating action that benefits Christ and is effected by God, and, therefore, it should be understood as the deliverance of Christ from death. Fuhrmann contends that the participle is coincident to the main verb, thereby connecting Christ's entrance into the heavenly sanctuary with his being delivered.[55] The object of ἀπολύτρωσιν in 9:15, in contrast, is believers. God's deliverance (λύτρωσις) of Christ enables him to deliver (ἀπολύτρωσις) believers from their sins. However, Fuhrmann's distinction is not convincing. The participial clause αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν εὑράμενος fits within the discussion of Christ's heavenly sacrifice and introduces its salvific effects, a discussion that continues in vv. 13–14. Further, the middle of εὑρίσκειν commonly means "to attain" or "to obtain,"[56] which is the natural reading in 9:12. The redemption of 9:12, therefore, is the same redemption mentioned in 9:15, the redemption obtained by Christ for believers concerning their sins.

The function of εὑράμενος has significant meaning as it relates to when and where Christ achieves redemption. The participle εὑράμενος follows after the main verb εἰσῆλθεν, creating formal agreement in aorist tense between the main verb and participle. In such constructions, the perfective aspect of the aorist participle can express coincident/contemporaneous or subsequent temporal reference.[57] Since Christ's sacrifice includes a sequence of events that span heaven and earth (see pp. 129–36) and since redemption is a salvific good resulting from Christ's sacrifice, it seems most fitting to read εὑράμενος as subsequent.[58]

55 Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 197.

56 BDAG 412; Preisker, "εὑρίσκω," *TDNT* 2:769–70; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 248.

57 Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood*, SIBG 1 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989), 385–87; Constantine R. Campbell, *Verbal Aspect and Non-Indicative Verbs*, SIBG 15 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008), 14–22. See Kibbe, "Is It Finished?" 32–33 for a comparison of εὑράμενος to other aorist pariticples in Hebrews.

58 Similarly, Moffitt, *Atonement* 223 n. 13, who suggests that a concurrent relationship in 9:12 is "hard to square with the motion represented in the context. Subsequent action, however, fits the context well." For coincident, see Schreiner, *Hebrews*, 269 n. 433.

Redemption happens after the entrance into the heavenly sanctuary (after the sequence of events is completed)[59] or, thinking logically instead of temporally, redemption happens as a result of the entrance into the heavenly sanctuary.[60]

As discussed in the previous chapter (see pp. 178 – 84), redemption is *deliverance at a cost/ransom*. Christ liberates people from sins, but this liberation comes at the cost of his death. This liberation/redemption is distinct from the forgiveness of sins. Forgiveness is release from the guilt or punishment due sins. It does not, however, fully deal with sin in the sense that justice has not been done. The law states that the proper punishment for sin is death (cf. Heb 9:14) so that, until the proper payment is made, sins are not fully taken away and the scales of justice are not balanced. By means of his self-offering, Christ achieves the redemption that pays the price, balances the scales of justice, and fully removes sin. Thus, while forgiveness and redemption are not the same thing, Christ's redemption also includes forgiveness. The final removal of sins (redemption) results in the removal of punishment due those sins (forgiveness). This redemption is eternal (αἰωνίαν; 9:12), covering both the sins committed prior to Christ under the first covenant (9:15) and the sins committed after Christ.

6.7 Take Away Sin

When discussing the inability (ἀδύνατον, 10:4; οὐδέποτε δύνανται, 10:11) of the old covenant sacrifices to take away sins, Hebrews uses the cognate verbs ἀφαιρεῖν (10:4) and περιελεῖν (10:11). However, when describing how Christ's sacrifice takes away sins in 9:26 and 9:28, the author does not employ these verbs. Rather, he says that Christ "has appeared once for all at the end of the age to remove sin [εἰς ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας] by the sacrifice of himself" (9:26). Then in 9:28, the author contrasts Christ's first and second coming noting that Christ, "having been offered once to bear the sins of many [εἰς τὸ πολλῶν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἁμαρτίας], will appear a second time, not to deal with sin [χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας], but to save those who are eagerly waiting for him."

The term ἀθέτησις in 9:26 is also used in 7:18, where it is used in its typical legal sense to call for the abolition or abrogation of the law. In 9:26, therefore, the ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας speaks of the abolition of sins, possibly in a legal sense. This removal of sins could be another way of speaking of ἄφεσις, since

59 Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:239; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 322 n. 92; Moffitt, *Atonement*, 223 n. 13; Moore, *Repetition*, 186; cf. Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:257; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 249; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 453; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:154; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 287 – 88.

60 Moffitt, *Atonement*, 223 n. 13; cf. Kibbe, "Is It Finished?" 33.

the paradigmatic sentence of 9:22 segues into the description of Christ's sacrifice in 9:23 – 28.[61]

However, 9:26 is more likely a reference to the redemption achieved by Christ.[62] The phrase ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας is located in the midst of the author's comparison of Christ's sacrifice to the old covenant sacrifices. The author argues that Christ does not "offer himself again and again, as the high priest enters the Holy Place year after year with blood that is not his own; for then he would have had to suffer again and again since the foundation of the world" (vv. 25 – 26). Unlike the levitical high priests who offer repeatedly, Christ does not. "But as it is, he has appeared once for all [ἅπαξ] at the end of the age to remove sin [ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας] by the sacrifice of himself" (v. 26). Whereas the high priests sacrifice repeatedly, Christ offered himself once, and his sacrifice is sufficient for all time. The author is contrasting the insufficiency of the old covenant sacrifices to the complete and absolute sufficiency of Christ's sacrifice that ultimately and finally puts away sin. This comparison suggests, therefore, that the absolute taking away (ἀθέτησις) is redemption, the removal of sins that satisfies the demands of justice (which is fitting with the legal sense of ἀθέτησις). The ultimate removal of sin goes beyond forgiveness—the removal of punishment—to include redemption. The ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας is the messianic, eschatological removal of sin that apocalyptic traditions anticipated (cf. 1 Pet 1:20; 1 John 3:5).[63]

Further, ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας in 9:26 should be interpreted together with ἀνενεγκεῖν ἁμαρτίας in 9:28, and ἀνενεγκεῖν ἁμαρτίας has a strong connection to the theme of redemption and vicarious suffering. Georg Gäbel notes that the statements in vv. 26 and 28 correspond not only in content but also in form.[64]

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61 For those who equate ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας with forgiveness, see Di Giovambattista, *Giorno dell'espiazione*, 146; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 303. For those who equate it with atonement, see Westcott, *Hebrews*, 275; Joslin, *Law*, 237. For those who equate it with God's non-remembrance of sins (8:12; 10:17), see Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:269; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 220. For those who equate it with cleansing the sanctuary (9:23), see Johnsson, "Defilement," 336; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:249.

62 Fuhrmann and Hill identify ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας with λύτρωσιν in 9:12 (Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 191; Hill, *Greek Words*, 69); however, they do not interpret λύτρωσιν in the same sense as in this book.

63 *T. Levi* 18:9; cf. *Pss. Sol.* 17:26, 36, 41; *1 En.* 62:7. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 265; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:196 n. 85; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 392; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 483; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 314; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 296; Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 273; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 187; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 340.

64 Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 301 – 2; similarly Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 482.

v. 26	1) ἅπαξ [...]	2) εἰς ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας	3) διὰ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῦ
v. 28	1) ἅπαξ [...]	2) εἰς τὸ πολλῶν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἁμαρτίας	3) προσενεχθεὶς

These correspondences in such close proximity demonstrate a correlation between the two ideas expressed in vv. 26 and 28. While the verb ἀναφέρειν is often used to denote the offering of a sacrifice (e. g., Heb 7:27; 13:15; James 2:21; 1 Peter 2:5), the combination in 9:28 of the aorist infinitive of ἀναφέρειν with the "sins of many" as an object (τὸ πολλῶν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἁμαρτίας) is a distinctive collocation that alludes to the suffering servant of Isa 53:12, which states that "he bore the sins of many [αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκεν], and made intercession for the transgressors."[65] While this allusion is based on only a few words and while Hebrews contains no other allusions to Isaiah or the suffering servant theme,[66] two considerations make this allusion likely. (1) The identification of Christ with the suffering servant of Isaiah was well established in early Christianity. Quotations of Isaiah 53 are also found in Matt 8:17; Luke 22:37; John 12:38; Acts 8:32 – 33; and Rom 10:16; 15:21. The manner by which Luke quotes Isa 53:7 – 8 in Acts and states simply that Philip used the text to explain the good news of Jesus suggests that the connection between Christ and the suffering servant was self-evident to his readers. Further, 1 Peter 2:24 quotes Isa 53:12 in a similar way, stating, "[Christ] himself bore our sins [ὃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν] in his body on the cross." Since the connection between Christ and Isaiah 53 was so prevalent, the use of the short, distinctive collocation in Heb 9:28 was sufficient to make the connection for the readers of Hebrews. (2) The themes of servant Christology are found throughout the book. The author states that Christ tastes death for everyone (2:9), his suffering resulted in learning obedience (5:8) and perfection (2:10; 5:9; 7:28), and he offers himself willfully for others (10:5 – 10) even though he himself was innocent (4:15; 7:26 – 27).[67] The use of these themes makes the allusion to Isa 53:12 in Heb 9:28 fitting.

65 For those who see an allusion to Isa 53:12 in Heb 9:28, see Westcott, *Hebrews*, 277; Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 162; Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 192; Schaefer, "Priestly and Servant Messianism," 377; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 388; Loader, *Sohn*, 198; Peterson, *Perfection*, 94; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 266; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:250; Bruce, *Hebrews*, 222 – 23; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 494; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:198; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 315; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 296, 305; Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 274; Joslin, "Christ Bore," 88 – 95; Joslin, *Law*, 237 n. 63; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 341; Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 426 – 27; Schreiner, *Hebrews*, 287.

66 Hughes, *Hebrews*, 388; Schaefer, "Priestly and Servant Messianism," 378; cf. Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 221 – 22.

67 For the identification of these themes with servant Christology, see Schaefer, "Priestly and Servant Messianism," 377, 380; Joslin, "Christ Bore," 90.

Hebrews 9:28, therefore, combines servant and cultic themes. The verb ἀνενεγκεῖν, on the one hand, refers to the *taking away* of sins that has been discussed in cultic contexts, but the allusion to Isa 53:12 highlights the fact that the taking away comes by means of Jesus's *bearing* sins.[68] Jesus is the suffering servant who takes sin and iniquity on himself and who suffers the punishment for those sins in a vicarious and representative fashion. While some scholars maintain that the description of the suffering servant in Isaiah 53 does not contain any cultic references, the author of Hebrews has appropriated the suffering servant into a predominantly cultic description of Christ's salvific work. The author reinterprets the servant theme of "the vicariously redemptive death of Christ" in a cultic fashion.[69] Thus, the removal of sins in 9:26 and the bearing of sins in 9:28 refer not only to the removal of the deserved punishment for sins (forgiveness) but also to the removal of the sins themselves (redemption).[70]

6.8 Non-Remembrance of Sins

The new covenant passage of Jer 31:31–34 quoted in Heb 8:8–12 contains several promises; however, the author of Hebrews reiterates only two of those promises in Heb 10:16–17: (1) the internalization of the law and (2) the non-remembrance of sins. In the intervening material between Heb 8:8–12 and 10:16–17, there are brief allusions to the theme of the internalization of the law (e.g., serving the living God in 9:14); however, the main focus of the intervening material has been on the theme of the non-remembrance of sins—i.e., what needed to take place for this salvific good to be possible. That the author is primarily concerned with this aspect of the new covenant is supported by the interpretive phrase "where there is forgiveness of these, there is no longer any offering for sin" (10:18).

68 For a discussion of which of these two meanings is meant or is primary, see Bruce, *Hebrews: Apology*, 372; Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 131, 134; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:269–70; Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 162; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 388; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 494; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 487; Grässer, *Hebräer*, 2:198; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 304–7; Telscher, *Opfer aus Barmherzigkeit*, 274.

69 Schaefer, "Priestly and Servant Messianism," 381; similarly Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:250; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 341. In contrast, Gäbel distinguishes between the suffering servant and cultic themes, seeing in Heb 9:28 the suffering servant theme to the exclusion of the cultic (Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 305–6).

70 Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 427; cf. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 277.

Due to the interpretive phrase of 10:18, most scholars identify the non-remembrance of sins of the new covenant with forgiveness.[71] However, the non-remembrance of sins, for the author, appears to be another way of describing redemption or the eschatological taking away of sins that occurs through Christ's vicarious suffering (9:26, 28). The author of Hebrews makes an interesting choice concerning the content he cites in 10:17. Hebrews 8:12 contains both lines of a parallel statement from LXX Jer 38:34: "For I will be merciful toward their iniquities [ὅτι ἵλεως ἔσομαι ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν], and I will remember their sins no more [καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ ἔτι]." In Heb 10:17, however, the author only quotes (with some modifications) the latter half of this parallel: "I will remember their sins and their lawless deeds no more [καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν ὀ μὴ μνησθήσομαι ἔτι]." The author does not include the reference to God's having mercy toward iniquity, possibly because God's mercy toward iniquity is not distinctive to the new covenant but is a common theme throughout the Old Testament. God was known to be merciful (e. g., Exod 34:6), and the LXX often uses the collocation εἶναι ἵλεως to translate the verb סָלַח.[72] Thus, God has mercy on (or forgives) sins throughout the Old Testament.

The Old Testament, in contrast, rarely mentions the salvific good of the non-remembrance of sins. In Jer 14:10, God decides to remember the sins (μνησθήσεται τῆς ἀδικίας αὐτῶν) of the people, which leads him to punish them (cf. Hos 7:2; 8:13; 9:9; Sir 23:18). The exile results from God's remembrance of sins. The answer to this problem is the promise of the new covenant. The result of God's non-remembrance of sins is the possibility of the restoration of Israel. Jeremiah anticipates the time when God "will cleanse [καθαριῶ] them from all their injustices" and "will not remember [μνησθήσομαι] their sins" (NETS; LXX 40:8), and this is the time when God "will return the exile of that land" (NETS; LXX 40:11). The only other instances where the LXX speaks of God's non-remembrance of sins occur in Isaiah, where God's non-remembrance is again connected to the restoration from exile (Isa 43:25; 64:8). Thus, when the author and readers of Hebrews read the LXX synchronically, they would have understood the non-

71 Bruce, *Hebrews: Apology*, 388; Westcott, *Hebrews*, 316; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:311; Johnsson, "Defilement," 350 – 51; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 404; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 281 – 82; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 516; Isaacs, *Sacred Space*, 119 – 20; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 515; deSilva, *Perseverance*, 326; Koester, *Hebrews*, 441; Fuhrmann, "Failures Forgotten," 303 – 4; Fuhrmann, *Vergeben*, 158 – 64; Mitchell, *Hebrews*, 204, 208; Mackie, *Eschatology*, 188; Joslin, *Law*, 207, 255 – 60; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 359 – 60.

72 Num 14:20; 1 Kgs 8:30, 34, 36, 39, 50; 2 Chron 6:21, 25, 27, 39; 7:14; Amos 7:2; Jer 5:1, 7; 27:20; 43:3.

remembrance of sins to be a promise of restoration, the return from exile that the author and readers were anticipating. God's having mercy or forgiving sins was a common or regular occurrence, but his non-remembrance of sins was identified with an eschatological event, the inauguration of the new covenant. It was not simply a temporary non-remembrance or a non-remembrance of past sins, but it was also a promise "to remember their sins *no more*" (NETS; LXX 38:34). The non-remembrance would continue into perpetuity, and Hebrews identifies the inauguration of the new covenant and this promise with the ἅπαξ sacrifice of Christ. Such an understanding of non-remembrance, therefore, fits much more closely with the way that we have defined redemption (an ultimate taking away of sin) than with forgiveness (release from punishment of past sins).

The author uses ἄφεσις in 10:18, then, not to identify non-remembrance with forgiveness but to connect the citation of the new covenant promise to the old covenant sacrifices and to the flow of his argument. God's non-remembrance includes forgiveness, because it would require him to act as if the sins had never happened. The ultimate removal of sins (redemption) would carry with it the release of punishment for those sins (forgiveness).[73] Since the author considered the old covenant sacrifices to achieve ἄφεσις, the author uses this salvific good in 10:18 to demonstrate how Christ's new covenant sacrifice ultimately results in the abrogation of the levitical cult. Since the sacrifice of Christ achieves the divine non-remembrance of sin, which includes the forgiveness of sins, there is no longer any need for another ἄφεσις and no possibility for an ἄφεσις of any other kind. In this way, the use of ἄφεσις helps to compare the old covenant sacrifices to the new covenant sacrifice and does not identify ἄφεσις with non-remembrance.

6.9 Purification of the Conscience

Christ's sacrifice effects a purified conscience. Hebrews 9:13–14 contains the *qal wahomer* argument contrasting the ἁγιάζει πρὸς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς καθαρότητα available through old covenant sacrifices with the purification of the conscience from dead works (καθαριεῖ τὴν συνείδησιν ἡμων ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων) available through Christ's sacrifice. Similarly, in reference to the sacrifice of Jesus, Heb

73 Sebastian Fuhrmann cites Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant.* 3.8.4; 14.6.2 and Diodorus 20.44.6, where non-remembrance and ἀφιέναι or ἄφεσις are connected, in order to identify non-remembrance with forgiveness (*Vergeben*, 161–63). However, these texts also make sense if non-remembrance, as is logical, includes (but is not necessarily contained by) forgiveness.

10:22 exhorts believers to "approach with a true heart in full assurance of faith, with our hearts sprinkled clean [ῥεραντισμένοι] from an evil conscience [ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς]." Similar to 10:22, the author describes in 13:18 the surety "that we have a clear conscience [καλὴν συνείδησιν]." As discussed in the previous chapter, the συνείδησις is the faculty that functions as an inner court of law, determining whether one's actions are moral.

The purification of the conscience, therefore, is the subjective aspect of an objective salvific efficacy. The conscience is unburdened by the eschatological removal of sins through Christ's redemptive sacrifice that establishes the new covenant. Several considerations connect the purification of the conscience with redemption and the new covenant. First, the conscience in 9:14 is cleansed of νεκρῶν ἔργων (cf. 6:1). While the description of the ἔργων with the adjective νεκρῶν could simply designate them as works contrary to the living God,[74] they may also be νεκρῶν, because they are works that deserve death. If so, such an understanding would connect the purification of the conscience to the demand or cost of death central to the idea of redemption.[75]

Second, there are several ways the purification of the conscience is identified with the new covenant sacrifice of Christ, which suggests that the purification of the conscience reflects the eschatological removal of sins achieved by Christ through his redemption. (*a*) The purpose of the purification of the conscience in 9:14 is the service to the living God, and this connection may allude to the new covenant promises. Purification and service suggest that the hearts of the believers have been changed with respect to God, which resonates with the new covenant promises of a renewed heart and the non-remembrance of sins.[76] (*b*) Several verbal parallels exist between Heb 10:22 and the new covenant promises listed in Ezek 36:25 – 26.[77] These two texts bring together the terms ῥαίνειν, ὕδωρ καθαρόν, and καθαρίζειν in a combination that is without parallel in the LXX and NT. (*c*) As discussed in the previous chapter, a clean conscience gave a person boldness (παρρησία). Hebrews 10:19 – 22 brings these two ideas together, noting the boldness (παρρησία) with which believers can enter the sanctuary due to their hearts being cleansed from an evil conscience (ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς). The boldness to enter the heavenly sanctuary is also present in Heb 4:16, where the author exhorts believers to "approach the throne of

74 Westcott, *Hebrews*, 262; Spicq, *Hébreux*, 2:259; Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 155; Rissi, *Theologie des Hebräerbriefs*, 94; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 470; Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 458.

75 Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 74; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 360 – 61; Peterson, *Perfection*, 139.

76 Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 134; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 397; Peterson, *Perfection*, 134 – 40, 150; Lane, *Hebrews*, 2:268; Joslin, *Law*, 232; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 325 – 26.

77 Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 379.

grace with boldness [μετὰ παρρησίας].” Since access to the divine presence was not available under the old covenant but only under the new covenant inaugurated by Christ’s sacrifice, the purification of conscience in 9:14, 10:22, and 13:18 likely refers to the eschatological removal of sins achieved by Christ through his redemption.

6.10 Conclusion

We have noted, therefore, the salvific goods that the author connects with Christ’s sacrifice: atonement, forgiveness, purification, sanctification, perfection, redemption, taking away sins, God’s non-remembrance of sins, and the purification of the conscience. There are, still, goods that Christ offers believers beyond those listed: Christ destroys the devil who has the power of death and, in so doing, releases believers from the fear of death (2:14–15); he mercifully represents believers (2:16–18; 4:15–16; cf. 10:21); and he intercedes on their behalf (7:25). While each of these salvific goods is important, this chapter has focused on those connected to Christ’s sacrificial act.

7 Conclusion

We are now ready to draw some conclusions regarding Hebrews's understanding of what the old covenant sacrifices accomplished compared to Christ's sacrifice. We will begin by evaluating the proposals mentioned in ch. 1 and then demonstrate how the findings of the intervening chapters support a more positive view of the old covenant sacrifices as sacramental, christological types.

7.1 Evaluation of Proposals

Before beginning an evaluation of the proposals, we must address two questions that were raised in the introduction: (1) Does Hebrews maliciously reinterpret the LXX and (2) is Hebrews's sacrifice theology self-contradictory?

First, as argued previously (pp. 160 – 63), ideological and rhetorical considerations make it unlikely that the author would deliberately ignore, revise, or manipulate the details of cultic regulations in order to malign the levitical institution, its theology, or its efficacy. The author is *ideologically* committed to the LXX as the words of God, and he identifies the levitical sacrifices as part of the law of God and, therefore, as a divinely willed institution. Thus, while the author reinterprets the Old Testament in light of the revelation of the Son (1:1 – 2), it is unlikely that he rejects its clear statements regarding the efficacy of old covenant sacrifices. Not only is the author an avid reader of the LXX, but so was his audience. Therefore, the author's message would not have been *rhetorically* effective if the author had handled the levitical sacrifices in an incompetent or expressly malevolent manner.[1] While we would expect the author to reinterpret the levitical system in light of the revelation of Christ, we would also expect him to depict levitical sacrifice in a way consistent with the LXX description.

Second, it seems to this author that we should read Hebrews generously (as with any work), presuming the development of a coherent and not self-contradictory argument.[2] We will, therefore, proceed with the assumption that the author

1 Other documents in the early church were more expressly malevolent (e. g., *Epistle of Barnabas* and Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*); however, those documents were written against Jewish opponents and not as a word of encouragement (λόγος τῆς παρακλήσεως; 13:22) to Christians well-versed in the LXX, who may have been tempted to return to Jewish cultic rituals.
2 Richard Hays has proposed that Hebrews may be a self-consuming artifact, which "unsettles and challenges its readers and destabilizes their interpretative categories" (Richard B. Hays,

uses consistent logic and a coherent argument. The possibility of a self-contradictory sacrifice theology in Hebrews will only be considered if we cannot find a proposal that makes consistent and coherent sense of Hebrews's diverse statements regarding sacrifice.

As a result of these two decisions, when reviewing the following proposals, we will evaluate (1) whether the proposals are consistent with the depiction of sacrifice in the LXX (allowing for christological reinterpretation and summarizing statements about sacrifice that include generalizations and/or conflating numerous sacrifices) and (2) whether they are consistent with all of Hebrews's statements, which together form a coherent understanding of old and new covenant sacrifices.

7.1.1 Different Kinds of Cleansing

7.1.1.1 External v. Internal

Hebrews makes some statements that strongly suggest an external-internal distinction concerning the purification of the old and new covenant sacrifices. The levitical sacrifices are described as regulations of the flesh (δικαιώματα σαρκός; 9:10) that result in a purification of the flesh (τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς καθαρότητα;

"'Here We Have No Lasting City': New Covenantalism in Hebrews," in *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology*, ed. Richard Bauckham et al. [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009], 169). A self-consuming artifact both consumes the preconceived notions of the reader and "negates or deconstructs itself as it leads the reader to the desired end" (ibid.). Thus, the apparently self-contradictory aspects of Hebrews's sacrifice theology are intentional and designed to use the audience's sacrificial beliefs and then to subvert them. A number of considerations make Hays's proposal improbable. First, it is unlikely that self-consuming artifacts were a common and recognizable rhetorical strategy in the first century. Hays himself acknowledges this potential argument and emphasizes that two "textbook examples are Plato's *Phaedrus* and Augustine's *On Christian Doctrine*" (ibid., 169 – 70). However, these two works, only one of which precedes the writing of Hebrews and the other written more than 300 years later, *might be* self-consuming artifacts, and the existence of one possible self-consuming artifact prior to the writing of Hebrews does not establish a pattern of rhetorical style. Thus, it seems unlikely that the author would consider using a self-consuming artifact or would expect his audience to appropriately identify one. Second, no aspect of Hebrews—other than the purported and unsubstantiated self-subverting comments—suggests that the author is employing self-contradictory rhetoric. Third, according to Hays, the self-consuming artifact would cause its readers to rethink its understanding of sacrifice and to discard "the connection between sacrifice and forgiveness" (ibid., 171); however, Hebrews does not draw this conclusion but seeks to preserve this very connection (9:22). The author does not deconstruct the efficacy of sacrifice but attempts to demonstrate the ultimate efficacy of Christ's new covenant sacrifice.

9:13), whereas Christ's sacrifice cleanses the conscience (καθαριεῖ τὴν συνείδησιν; 9:14). The question, from the perspective of interpreting Hebrews, is whether these statements establish a fundamental and (anthropologically) dualistic distinction between the effects of the old covenant sacrifices and the new covenant sacrifice.

Several arguments suggest that this distinction is not the fundamental difference between levitical sacrifices and Christ's sacrifice. First, the Old Testament does not portray the sacrifices as having merely an external effect; rather, the sacrifices affected the whole person—expiating sins, sanctifying, rectifying the divine-human relationship, etc.[3] This understanding of sacrifice—that the external actions of sacrifice had internal implications—is supported by the Second Temple texts, which demonstrate that first-century readers of the Torah considered sacrifice to have internal or holistic implications.

Second, there are statements in Hebrews suggesting that the old covenant sacrifices were able to achieve real efficacy as the law prescribes (5:1, 3; 7:27; 9:7, 22; cf. 13:11) and were not simply ineffectual rituals.

Third, as argued in ch. 5, the identification of the levitical sacrifices with the σάρξ is likely related to the major contrast made in 9:1–14 between the earthly sanctuary/cult and the heavenly sanctuary/cult. The term σάρξ identifies the levitical regulations and effects as related to the earthly realm (as opposed to the heavenly realm). The primary distinction, therefore, would not be an internal-external distinction but an earthly-heavenly distinction.

Fourth, if the heavenly sanctuary establishes the earthly sacrifices as sacramental types (as proposed), then we would expect an external-internal distinction to accompany the earthly-heavenly distinction. Thus, such statements are not surprising. At the same time, these statements do not strip the levitical sacrifices of any internal effects but highlight the fact that the sacrifices, while on their own are merely external signs, have an internal effect because God established them as means of accessing the efficacy achieved in the heavenly sanctuary.

7.1.1.2 Defilement v. Sin

A similar proposal has identified the levitical sacrifices with defilement that impeded believers from participation in divine worship. The levitical sacrifices, then, were not intended to forgive sins but to cleanse defilement and allow for

3 Cf. Lenski, *Hebrews and James*, 297; Vos, *Hebrews*, 89; Grayston, "Salvation Proclaimed III," 166; Marshall, "Soteriology in Hebrews," 267.

worship, whereas Christ's sacrifice both cleansed defilement *and* forgave sins. This proposal faces similar challenges to that above.

First, Leviticus identifies sin—not merely defilement—as what sacrifice addresses and what impedes the approach to God (e.g., Leviticus 4–7, 16). One cannot separate defilement from sin/transgression.[4]

Second, the Second Temple texts affirm that first-century readers of the sacrificial texts understood sacrifice to address sin. These texts rarely mention defilement or the manner by which the sacrifices cleansed the tabernacle and its furnishings. Rather, these texts, in emphasizing the effects of atonement and forgiveness, focus on the problem of sin that violates the God-human relationship and human-to-human relationship. Such an emphasis is exemplified in those texts that stress the inner dispositions of the one offering the sacrifice, the need for repentance before God, and the need to appease the person one has transgressed before offering a sacrifice.[5]

Third, while Hebrews makes much of the role sacrifice plays in allowing believers to draw near to God in worship, its argumentation does not match this proposal. While scholars have argued that the levitical sacrifices allowed for access to God in worship, Hebrews highlights the old covenant sacrifices' inability to establish true or full access to the divine. Although the believers were brought closer and the high priest entered the Holy of Holies once a year, the levitical system exemplified the lack of access to God. Thus, while the author does not deny that the levitical sacrifices were essential to ongoing worship of God, he does not highlight this theme in a way that promotes this proposal as the primary distinction between the old and new covenant sacrifices.

7.1.1.3 Social Purity v. Sins

A few scholars have suggested that levitical sacrifices addressed social purity—either allowing individual members to remain in the community or ensuring the maintenance of the community against destructive influences—and did not address sin. In contrast, Jesus achieved divine reconciliation, forgiveness of sins, and the purification of the conscience. This proposal, however, faces many of the same problems as those above, so we will simply summarize those problems. First, the Old Testament does not separate social purity from the problem of sin

4 Vos, *Hebrews*, 118.

5 E.g., Sir 28:5; 2 Macc 12:45; *Jub.* 6:2; 16:22; *T. Job* 42:5–8; 43:4, 17; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.238, 241, 246, 247; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.186–97, 226–46; 1QM II, 5; 1Q22(1QDM) III, 7–IV, 12; 4Q512 29–32 VII, 8–9, 21; 11QT[a] XVI, 12–18; XXV, 15; XXVI, 7–10; XXVII, 2; XVIII, 2–8; 11Q13(11QMelch) II, 4–8.

so that sacrifice could address one and not the other. While there were certainly social implications of sacrifice, one cannot divorce those social implications and purity from the forgiveness of sins and the reconciliation of the divine-human relationship that sin threatened. Second, the sacrificial texts in Second Temple literature focus on the issue of sin and the divine-human relationship. Social implications are related to sacrifice but never divorced from the problem of sin. Third, such a distinction does not appear to be present in the argument of Hebrews.

7.1.1.4 Sins of Ignorance v. Willful Sins

Numbers 15:22–31 distinguishes between sins of ignorance and high-handed sins. While sins of ignorance (ἀκούσιος) could be atoned (ἐξιλάσκεσθαι), high-handed sins (ποιήσει ἐν χειρὶ ὑπερηφανίας) could not be atoned and, consequently, resulted in "excommunication and consequent destruction."[6] When describing the levitical Day of Atonement, Hebrews 9:7 states that the sacrifice on the Day of Atonement was ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων (9:7), and the ἀγνόημα are often translated as *sins of ignorance* or *unintentional sins*. In contrast, Christ's sacrifice purifies the conscience from works that lead to death (ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων; 9:14), which some have identified with the willful or high-handed sins that lead to destruction. However, it is unlikely that the author thinks the old covenant sacrifices atoned only for unintentional sins, while Christ's sacrifice atoned for unintentional *and* intentional/high-handed sins.

First, while Leviticus identifies some sacrifices as addressing unintentional sins (ἀκούσιος; Lev 4:2, 13, 22, 27; 5:15, 17), other sacrifices appear to address intentional sins (5:1–6; 6:1–5), and the Day of Atonement sacrifices atoned for the cleansing of *all* their sins—with no distinction between intentional or unintentional (ἐξιλάσεται περὶ ὑμῶν καθαρίσαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν; Lev 16:30; cf. 16:34). Thus, Leviticus appears to describe sacrifices as addressing all sins, except for possibly the high-handed sin of apostasy as described in Numbers.[7]

Second, as argued in ch. 5, Hebrews does not appear to work with this distinction. The term ἀγνόημα, when interpreted in light of the author's arguments in 5:1–3 and 7:26–28, does not refer to unintentional sins but to sins in general, which are caused by the weakness and ignorance of the human condition. Thus,

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6 Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 435.

7 Philo notes that the sin offering addressed both unintentional (ἀκούσια) and intentional (ἑκούσια) sins (*Spec. Laws* 1.227, 235).

the author does not restrict the effects of the levitical sacrifices to unintentional sins. Further, Heb 10:26 states that, even in light of the sacrifice of Christ, a sacrifice for sins (περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν) does not remain for those who willfully persist in sin (ἑκουσίως ἁμαρτανόντων). As a result, one also cannot identify the new covenant sacrifice as addressing willful or high-handed sins, since no sacrifice remains for those who willfully reject the sacrifice of Christ.

7.1.1.5 Temporary v. Final

While Hebrews clearly establishes a contrast between the temporary efficacy of the levitical sacrifices and the ultimate efficacy of Christ's sacrifice (7:27; 9:24–26; 10:2, 11–12), one cannot identify this contrast as the sole or primary contrast between the competing cults. The levitical sacrifices were temporary, because they were deficient in their efficacy. They lacked some sort of salvific good, which is why they had to be continually offered.[8] Hebrews 10:1–4, in fact, states that the sacrifices persisted, because they could not take away sins or the consciousness of sins (10:2).

7.1.2 Explanations of the Critical Statements

The remaining proposals do not articulate what the old covenant sacrifices accomplished compared to Christ's sacrifice; rather, they try to explain why the author makes such critical statements about the old covenant sacrifices. Therefore, the following proposals will have varying degrees of consistency with Hebrews and are intended to help make Hebrews's critical statements about the old covenant sacrifices more palatable, but they cannot fully explain the relationship between old and new covenant sacrifices.

7.1.2.1 Prophetic Criticism

There are a number of texts in the psalms and prophets that are critical of levitical sacrifices,[9] and some see in Hebrews an extrapolation of the prophetic critique. Still, the prophetic statements primarily critiqued the improper performance of sacrifice, critiquing mere ritualism and calling instead for heartfelt repentance and devotion to accompany sacrifice. The prophetic criticism never

8 Moore, *Repetition*, esp. 29, 148–205.

9 See above, p. 10 n. 28.

called for or led to the cessation of properly performed sacrifice. The author of Hebrews, in contrast, says there is no longer a need for levitical sacrifices (10:18) and proclaims that the blood of bulls and goats is unable to purify the conscience or take away sins (Heb 9:9; 10:4, 11). Thus, while the author of Hebrews quotes and depends on the psalms and prophets, even within the discussion of sacrifice (Jer 31:31–64; Ps 40:6–8), such a "radical rejection of an earthly cult is at a considerable distance from the prophetic critique of the cult, for there is no evidence that the prophets ever rejected the Jerusalem cultus entirely."[10]

7.1.2.2 Hellenistic Dualism

The radical character of Hebrews's cult criticism has led others to identify it with the critiques levied against sacrifice by Hellenistic philosophers who dismissed any physical or material rituals as inefficacious. Only heavenly or internal offerings of obedience and virtue could be efficacious. An earthly sanctuary in which material, bloody animals are sacrificed can only cleanse the flesh, whereas a heavenly sacrifice in the heavenly sanctuary is required for one to "approach God with the purity of the heavenly aspect of human existence, the conscience."[11]

However, Hebrews seems to be shaped less by a Platonic or Philonic worldview than by an apocalyptic worldview. While apocalyptic worldviews contain dualistic aspects, they also exhibit a concern for the physical world, which is also present in Hebrews. The author still assumes that blood is necessary for forgiveness (9:22), and Christ's physical, earthly life, suffering, and death are all necessary for the performance of the truly efficacious sacrifice.[12] Hebrews does not reject the efficacy of physical, bloody sacrifice, but identifies the body and blood of Christ as the truly efficacious sacrifice.

7.1.2.3 Dogmatic Conclusion

The author of Hebrews was certainly impacted by his understanding of Jesus's blood as the ultimate sacrifice that achieved true efficacy. Further, it is possible that the author reasoned from solution to problem, so that his beliefs about Jesus led to the conclusion that the levitical sacrifices were not themselves efficacious.

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10 Thompson, *Beginnings*, 109; cf. Calvin, *Hebrews*, 135; Vos, *Hebrews*, 89; von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:186–87; Lindars, *Hebrews*, 89; Weiss, *Hebräer*, 505–6; Gordon, *Hebrews*, 28; Thompson, *Hebrews*, 195; Winder, "Sacrificial Christology," 58–59; Filtvedt, *Identity*, 164–68.

11 Thompson, *Beginnings*, 115.

12 Koester, *Hebrews*, 438.

Thus, this proposal has a certain truth to it, because the Christ-event led the author to completely reevaluate the levitical system. Still, this proposal does not help explain how the author understood the old and new covenant sacrifices to be related to each other, and it cannot justify the author's complete rejection of the Old Testament's description of sacrifice, if, in fact, the author does embrace such a conclusion.

7.1.2.4 Socio-Historical Context

This proposal may have a degree of validity. Hebrews may be written to Jewish Christians who were in danger of returning to the mother religion. If this is the case, Hebrews may respond with rhetoric that is critical, perhaps even incendiary.[13] Still, as argued above, if the author is dealing with such an audience, he would have to handle the Old Testament and the sacrificial institution in an acceptable manner—i.e., in a way consistent with first-century understandings of sacrifice in the LXX. Further, while Hebrews's socio-historical context may for modern scholars alleviate, at least in part, the offensiveness of Hebrews's critique of the cult, it does not explain how the author understood the relationship between the old and new covenant sacrifices.

In addition, it is possible that the author's rhetoric is not as critical of the levitical cult as is sometimes perceived. The author may be using the rhetorical device of *synkrisis*, by which he commends Christ's sacrifice by comparing it and showing its superiority to something highly esteemed—i.e., the levitical sacrifices. In this way, the author may not be warning believers against a return to levitical practice but using a comparison (σύγκρισις) to something revered (old covenant sacrifices) in order to demonstrate why believers should be faithful to Christ's sacrifice.[14]

7.1.2.5 Typology

Scholars often speak of typology as it relates to Hebrews's discussion of sacrifice to structure a comparison and contrast between the old covenant sacrifices and Christ's sacrifice. The term typology suggests points of continuity, as the old covenant sacrifices become the pattern for Christ's sacrifice. Such a comparison of *facts* inevitably leads to a comparison of *significance*—i.e., what the old covenant sacrifices accomplished in comparison to Christ's. A typological correspondence

13 Koosed, "Double Bind," 99; cf. Haber, "Christ Cultus," 124; Barnard, "Anti-Jewish," 36–37.
14 Mason, "The Epistle (Not Necessarily) to the 'Hebrews,'" esp. 13–16.

or comparison, therefore, is often used by scholars to structure whatever understandings they have adopted from those listed above—e. g., external v. internal, defilement v. sin, etc. Typology, then, is often discussed simply as a heuristic tool for structuring the understanding of Hebrews's sacrifice theology. Others go a step beyond typology as a heuristic tool to suggest that the typological correspondence includes a prophetic and/or pedagogical function.

7.2 Sacramental, Christological Types

This work has built toward an understanding of the levitical sacrifices in Hebrews as sacramental, christological types. In this view, the levitical sacrifices are external rituals that themselves had no atoning efficacy. Yet, God promised that these external rituals would effect atonement and forgiveness, and they were able to be efficacious based on the sacrifice of Christ that would come later. His sacrifice would achieve atonement and forgiveness once-for-all-time, not only for the sins that would come after it but also for those that had preceded it. The levitical sacrifices, therefore, were external rituals sacramentally linked to the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice, and that efficacy was proleptically applied to the levitical sacrifices.

The argumentation for finding this view in Hebrews required several steps. Chapters 2 and 3 focused on Second Temple texts in order to determine what understanding of sacrifice and heavenly cult existed in the first century. Establishing the first-century context was essential to determining what understanding and assumptions the author and audience presumably shared.

In chapter 2, we found that Second Temple texts valued sacrifice performed properly. While some were critical of the administration of the levitical sacrifices or even withdrew from contemporary temple practice (e. g., the Qumran Community), each text represents an expression of concern for a divinely ordained institution. No text calls for the cessation of sacrifice, but each text desires the performance of the levitical sacrifices according to the will of God. Further, the Second Temple texts repeatedly affirm the basic efficacies described in Leviticus. The sacrifices were intended to achieve atonement, forgiveness, and purification, which ultimately restored relationship with God. We can presume that the author and his audience shared this understanding of levitical sacrifice that permeates first-century texts.

In chapter 3, we examined an interpretive tradition in mystical apocalyptic texts that was present by the first century. A series of texts including *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, *ShirShabb*, and the *Testament of Levi* depict a heavenly temple in which angels function as priests and offer sacrifices. Just as, based on Exod

25:9, 40, the heavenly sanctuary was the ideal pattern for the earthly sanctuary, so was the heavenly cult the ideal for the earthly cult. Such an understanding was self-evident in the notion of a heavenly cult, and the earthly cult was only rightly performed when it matched the pattern of the heavenly cult. The heavenly cult, therefore, was a means by which authors validated or legitimized the earthly, levitical cult, or at least validated the levitical cult as they thought it ought to be performed. If the earthly practice imitated that of the heavenly cult, which had existed from the time of creation (i.e., in the created order), then the earthly practice must be right, legitimate, and valid. The legitimacy of levitical sacrifices, therefore, was based on their correspondence with the heavenly sacrifice. Sacrificial efficacy, likewise, is contingent upon the correspondence with the heavenly and, therefore, is derived from the heavenly. Again, when the author speaks of the heavenly sanctuary, one ought to presume that the author and audience both understood this relationship between the heavenly and earthly cults. The heavenly sanctuary functioned positively, validating the levitical practice.

In chapter 4, we examined Hebrews's notion of the heavenly sanctuary and cult, and we demonstrated how the mystical, apocalyptic notion of the heavenly cult provided the contextual background for Hebrews's discussion. A heavenly being (Jesus) offers a sacrifice in the heavenly sanctuary. Based on the understanding present in the first century, the positive function of the heavenly cult was applied to Hebrews, resulting in the proposal that the heavenly cult—i.e., Christ's sacrifice in the heavenly sanctuary—served a positive function for the levitical cult. The heavenly cult does not function negatively or critically, demonstrating the futility of earthly practice; rather, the heavenly cult validates the earthly cult, because the earthly cult corresponds to the heavenly sacrifice of Christ. The earthly cult was to imitate the prototypical model or to synchronize the earthly worship with the heavenly, and, through this correspondence, the earthly worship was pleasing to God. The heavenly cult was truly efficacious, but the earthly cult had validity in that it was linked to the heavenly.

Thus, the heavenly cult gives the structure for reading the levitical sacrifices as sacramental, christological types. The earthly sanctuary is a sketch (ὑπόδειγμα) and shadow (σκιά) of the heavenly ideal (ἀληθινή) and pattern (τύπος) (8:1–6; 9:24). Just as the levitical priests offered sacrifice in the earthly sanctuary, so Christ offered in the heavenly sanctuary (8:4–6), and the author parallels the Day of Atonement with Christ's heavenly sacrifice (9:1–14, 23–28; 10:11–14). Thus, there is a high level of correspondence between heaven and earth, which suggests—in a way consistent with the mystical, apocalyptic traditions—that the efficacy of the earthly cult is dependent on its correspondence with and link to the heavenly cult.

At the same time, Hebrews clearly develops the notion of the heavenly sanctuary in distinctive ways. Rather than describing a perpetual heavenly cult that matched the perpetual earthly sacrifice, Hebrews argues for a once-for-all heavenly sacrifice. The singular sacrifice of Christ is efficacious for all time. The result is that the efficacy that emanates from Christ's sacrifice to the earthly sacrifices must be proleptically applied to old covenant believers. They were accessing salvific goods that were dependent on a future act or development, but for the time being those efficacies were sealed with the promise of God that, when sacrifice was made, there would be atonement and forgiveness.[15]

Further, the author sees Christ's sacrifice as not only validating the levitical sacrifices but also bringing them to an end (7:18; 8:13; 10:9, 18). This tension is necessary based on the author's eschatological and covenantal perspectives. Since Christ's sacrifice does not occur until the time of the new order, the levitical sacrifices become anticipatory. They anticipate the truly efficacious sacrifice of Christ and, in this way, serve a prophetic and pedagogical function. It is not surprising, therefore, that the author no longer sees a need for levitical sacrifices, because they are anticipatory, prophetic, pedagogical of the reality. Once the reality has come, there is no longer a need for the anticipations or shadows of the reality. Further, by identifying Christ's sacrifice with the inauguration of the new covenant, it is fitting for the sacrifices of the first covenant to become obsolete. Although God ordained the levitical sacrifices, his desire was for the sacrifice of Christ, so the establishment of the new or second order results in the end of the first (10:5–10).

In chapter 5, we examined whether Hebrews's statements regarding the old covenant sacrifices were consistent with the notion that they were sacramental, christological types. In keeping with this proposal, we found that the author of Hebrews attributes to levitical sacrifices some positive functions. Since, as argued in ch. 2, first-century believers understood sacrifice to atone for and forgive sins, the author's positive view of levitical sacrifices is often veiled and assumed. He notes that the old covenant sacrifices were *for sins* (5:1, 3; 7:27; 9:7; 10:18; 13:11),

15 Similarly Calvin, *Hebrews*, 112, 118–21, 127–34; Gouge, *Hebrews*, 2:245, 248, 300; Eugène Ménégoz, *La théologie de L'Épître aux Hébreux* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1894), 126; Bruce, *Hebrews: Apology*, 339; Hughes, *Hebrews*, 317–20, 325–26, 393; Beckwith, "Death of Christ," 133–35; Kim, *Polemic in Hebrews*, 179–80; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 419; cf. Farrar, *Hebrews*, 119; Lenski, *Hebrews and James*, 197, 293, 326; Aquinas, *Hebrews*, 431–34, 445–46. I. Howard Marshall argues against this proposal by contending that the author's "point is that the old system did not fully work rather than that it did work because of some other agency" ("Soteriology in Hebrews," 267–68). We have acknowledged that the author considers the levitical sacrifices unable to accomplish some salvific goods. This does not preclude, however, that other salvific efficacies were attributed to levitical sacrifices by means of the agency of Christ.

and he affirms the principle that the forgiveness of sins is dependent on the blood of sacrifice (9:22; 10:18). Further, the author repeatedly affirms that the levitical institution was divinely ordained (8:4; 10:8). These positive statements are consistent with viewing the levitical sacrifices as sacramental, christological types, since this view ascribes to the old covenant sacrifices' positive effects.

At the same time, this view anticipates critical statements about the levitical sacrifices, since they were not efficacious in themselves but were merely symbols that God ordained to access Christ's salvation (thereby making them sacramental). In keeping with the symbolic or sacramental nature of the levitical sacrifices, the author refers to the levitical system as a shadow (σκιά) of the good things to come (10:1) and identifies the sacrifices as fleshly or earthly regulations as opposed to the truly efficacious heavenly sacrifice (9:10, 13). These statements emphasize the inability of the sacrifices in themselves. They were only effective because God ordained them and only until the time of reformation, the time of the new covenant (9:10).

While some aspects of the efficacy achieved by Christ's sacrifice were proleptically realized by old covenant believers, other aspects are reserved until the time when Christ achieves the goods: access to the divine presence, perfection, and redemption.[16] It appears that the author has these salvific realities in mind when he also speaks of the levitical sacrifices' inability to cleanse the conscience (resulting in the remembrance of sins) and to take away sins.

In chapter 6, we examined the author's statements regarding Christ's sacrifice. The heavenly sacrifice achieved atonement, forgiveness, purification, sanctification, perfection, redemption, the removal of sins, the non-remembrance of sins, and the purification of the conscience. The pervasive efficacy of Christ's sacrifice justifies its singularity and definitive character. There is no longer any need for another sacrifice, not even an earthly sacrifice that is a mere symbol of Christ's sacrifice.

Based on the findings in the preceding chapters, the relationship between the old covenant sacrifices and the new covenant sacrifice can best be explained through the rubric of sacramental, christological typology. While this understanding of the levitical sacrifices is at times more implicit than explicit, this proposal is compelling because it accounts for the significance of the heavenly cult and sanctuary that frames the discussion, it does not require the author of Hebrews to contradict the descriptions of sacrifice present in the LXX, it accounts for the tension between the sacrificial imagery and the critique of sacrifice, and it

16 For the retroactive application of these goods to first covenant believers, see Peterson, *Perfection*, 158; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 255; O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 328.

provides a coherent explanation for each statement the author makes about the levitical sacrifices. The author considers the levitical sacrifices to be earthly/physical rituals that accessed (symbolically or sacramentally) the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice.

Appendix: Perfection in Second Temple Literature and the New Testament

LXX

The use of τελειοῦν in the LXX can be divided into four categories: formal, religious, post-death, and cultic. First, τελειοῦν frequently has a purely *formal* meaning, describing the completion of a building (2 Chr 8:16; Neh 6:3, 16), of cultic ministrations (Sir 50:19), of a goal or mission (Jdt 10:8), of beauty (Ezek 27:11), and of a blessing (Sir 7:32). Song of the Three Young Men 1:17 (Dan 3:39 LXX) likely also maintains the formal meaning, as Azariah petitions that their sacrifice of martyrdom "come to maturity [τελειώσαι]" (NETS), which likely means to complete or make their sacrifice whole and, thereby, likely echoes the immediately preceding petition to accept their martyrdom as whole burnt offerings (cf. Wis 3:6).[1]

Second, τελειοῦν has a *religious* meaning in 2 Sam 22:26, which states that "with a perfect man you will be deemed perfect [μετὰ ἀνδρὸς τελείου τελειωθήσῃ]" (NETS). Τελειοῦν here is a translation of the Hebrew תָּמַם and reflects the more prevalent religious use of the adjective τέλειος, with which the LXX at times translates תָּמִים (Gen 6:9; Deut 18:13; 2 Sam 22:26; cf. Wis 9:6; Sir 44:17) and שָׁלֵם (1 Kgs 8:61; 11:4; 15:3, 14; 1 Chr 28:9). While τέλειος in these instances frequently connotes moral perfection, the primary referent is "wholehearted allegiance to the Lord,"[2] as exemplified by the שָׁלֵם passages, which all describe a καρδία τελεία, a condition of the heart signifying entirety and wholeness in a divine relationship. Sirach 31:10 appears to use τελειοῦν similarly, when describing the blameless (ἄμωμος) rich person as one "who has been tested by [gold] and been made perfect [ἐτελειώθη]" (NETS). The blameless rich person is contrasted with the one "who loves gold" and who "will not be justified [δικαιωθήσεται]" (31:5). Thus, τελειοῦν appears to describe a status. Whereas the lover of

1 Peterson argues that τελειώσαι in Dan 3:38 (LXX) is used in the religious sense described below—that they are "walking in a wholehearted relationship with God" (Peterson, *Perfection*, 26). Delling, in contrast, views ἐξιλάσαι and τελειώσαι as parallel, so that τελειώσαι means "to make free from stain" (Delling, *TDNT* 8:80 n. 7). However, Θ uses ἐκτελέσαι alone, for which the Old Greek translation uses ἐξιλάσαι and τελειώσαι, which likely implies that the Old Greek gives a more expansive translation, using τελειώσαι as an equivalent of ἐκτελέσαι to denote *completion* and using ἐξιλάσκεσθαι to articulate what the completion of their θυσία connotes—expiation.

2 Du Plessis, *Teleios*, 99.

money is not declared righteous, the rich person "who was able to transgress and did not transgress, and to do evil and did not do so" (31:10) is deemed perfect, which likely describes a religious status before God. On the whole, however, the religious use of τελειοῦν is very limited.[3] The LXX uses words other than τέλειος to translate תָּמִים and שָׁלֵם, and only in two texts is τελειοῦν used in the religious sense of wholeness before God.[4]

Third, another rare use of τελειοῦν is to describe a post-death reality. Fourth Maccabees 7:15 says of Eleazar, "O man of blessed age, venerable gray hair and law-observant life, whom the faithful seal of death has perfected [ἐτελείωσεν]!" (NETS). Although some consider τελειοῦν here to describe moral piety,[5] 4 Maccabees goes on to state that those who withstand suffering to the point of death are "trusting that they do not die to God … , but live to God" (vv. 16 – 19). Likewise, 4 Macc 16:25 states that "those who die for the sake of God, for God now live" (NETS). Thus, τελειοῦν appears to be equated, not with moral righteousness, but with post-death living to God. Wisdom 4:13 uses τελειοῦν to describe the death of the righteous in a similar sense, stating, "but being perfected [τελειωθεὶς] in a short time, he fulfilled long years" (NETS). Wisdom, here, describes moral purity as long years (4:8 – 9), which is ironically contrasted with the brevity of his life. Yet, there is hope, because upon death the righteous are perfected, i. e. they are "in the hand of God" (3:1) and "at peace (3:3).[6]

Fourth, the most frequent use of τελειοῦν in the LXX is the *cultic*. Τελειοῦν occurs nine times as part of the standard phrase τελειοῦν τὰς χεῖρας (Exod 29:9, 29, 33, 35; Lev 4:5; 8:33; 16:32; Num 3:3). In all but one of these occurrences (Lev 4:5), τελειοῦν τὰς χεῖρας is a translation of the Hebrew phrase מִלֵּא יָדָם *to fill the hands*, a phrase that is translated elsewhere in the LXX with ἐμπιμπλάναι τὰς χεῖρας (e. g., Exod 28:41; Judg 17:5, 12) and πληροῦν τὰς χεῖρας (e. g., Exod 32:29; Judg 17:5, 12; 1 Kgs 13:33; Sir 45:15). The filling of the hands was part of the ritual of priestly ordination or consecration; as a result, *to fill the hands* became a technical term for consecration, which is evidenced in Lev 4:5, where the LXX translates הַכֹּהֵן הַמָּשִׁיחַ ("the anointed priest") with ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ χριστὸς ὁ τετελειωμένος τὰς χεῖρας ("the anointed priest, who has had his hands filled/perfected" [my

3 Similarly, Peterson, *Perfection*, 26.

4 For a more extended discussion of the *religious* sense of τέλειος and τελειόω, see Michel, "Vollkommenheit," 337 – 40; Du Plessis, *Teleios*; Peterson, *Perfection*, 25 – 26.

5 deSilva, *4 Maccabees*, 154.

6 John Geyer notes the possibility that τελειοῦν may describe "being full of all necessary knowledge to make their way through the cosmos to heaven." However, he ultimately concludes that τελειοῦν more likely means "being morally perfect" (*The Wisdom of Solomon*, TBC [London: SCM, 1963], 72; similarly Joseph Reider, *The Book of Wisdom* [New York: Harper, 1957], 86).

translation]). The anointing of the priest is expanded to include the means by which one was anointed—the filling of the hands.

Due to the technical use of the phrase τελειοῦν τὰς χεῖρας, many scholars contend that τελειοῦν alone (even apart from τὰς χεῖρας) became a technical term for consecration and that Hebrews uses τελειοῦν in this technical, cultic sense.[7] The strongest evidence for this argument is Lev 21:10, where many LXX translations employ τετελειωμένου alone to translate מִלֵּא אֶת־יָדוֹ, which suggests that "the technical sense of the idiom did transfer to the 'head word.'"[8] However, there are several reasons why τελειοῦν likely did not gain a technical, cultic meaning that influenced Hebrews. First, although the phrase τελειοῦν τὰς χεῖρας became a technical term for consecration, the verb τελειοῦν—when isolated from this phrase—does not take on the technical meaning.[9] Second, even within the phrase τελειοῦν τὰς χεῖρας, τελειοῦν does not take on a cultic meaning but retains its formal meaning (*to complete*, *to accomplish*) since it functions as a translation of מִלֵּא, *to fill*.[10] Third, the use of τελειοῦν apart from τὰς χεῖρας in some LXX translations/traditions of Lev 21:10 is "an obscure and singular example" that "can scarcely indicate the development of a significant new linguistic usage."[11] That τελειοῦν did not become a technical, cultic term is evidenced by the use of τελειοῦν with other meanings in the LXX.[12] Further, τελειοῦν is not used outside the Pentateuch in the technical phrase *to fill the hands*. In all instances of this phrase outside the Pentateuch, either a form of πιμπλάναι or πληροῦν is used (Judg 17:5, 12; 1 Kgs 13:33 1 Chr 29:5; 2 Chr 13:9; 29:31; Ezek 43:26; Sir

7 Delling, *TDNT* 8:80–83; Hübner, *EDNT* 3:345; Häring, "Grundgedanken," 260–76; Moe, "Gedanke," 166–68; Dibelius, "Himmlische Kultus," 2:165–66; Du Plessis, *Teleios*, 213; Hoekema, "Perfection," 32; Silva, "Perfection," 60–62; Vanhoye, "Teleiôsis," 331.

8 Silva, "Perfection," 61 n. 3. In addition, τελείωσις is used in Exod 29:26, Lev 8:22, and Lev 8:33 to denote the consecration of priests; τελείωσις is used with κριος, θυσία, κανών, ὁλοκαύτωμα, and ἡμέρα to describe sacrificial rituals or items used in sacrificial rituals (Exod 29:26, 27, 31, 34; Lev 7:37; 8:22, 26, 28, 29, 31, 33).

9 Loader, *Sohn*, 47; Peterson, *Perfection*, 28–30; Rissi, *Theologie des Hebräerbriefs*, 79; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 85; Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 189–90; Kurianal, *High Priest*, 221; McCruden, *Solidarity Perfected*, 16.

10 Kögel, "Τελειοῦν im Hebräerbrief," 51; Riggenbach, "Τελείωσις," 185–87; Peterson, *Perfection*, 27–29. Delling argues that τελειοῦν τὰς χεῖρας does not mean "to fill the hands" but to "free the hands from stain" (*TDNT* 8:81). However, it is unlikely that τελειώσεις τὰς χεῖρας in Exod 29:9 would have a significantly different meaning from ἐμπλήσεις … τὰς χεῖρας in Exod 28:41 and ἐπληρώσατε τὰς χεῖρας in Exod 32:29.

11 Peterson, *Perfection*, 29. The cultic use of τελειοῦν in Lev 21:10 is likely the result of the context. The other uses of τελειοῦν τὰς χεῖρας in Leviticus likely shape the use of τελειοῦν in Lev 21:10, and Lev 21:10, then, is not evidence for a technical use of τελειοῦν.

12 Ibid., 24–25; Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 190.

45:15; *T. Levi* 8:10; cf. *As. Mos.* 10:1). Thus, there is no evidence for τελειοῦν becoming a technical term for consecration.[13]

Even the religious, post-death, and cultic uses are essentially material applications of the formal meaning of τελειοῦν. The distinctive meaning in each case is dependent on the object and the ultimate goal to be achieved. For instance, the religious use of τελειοῦν is bringing human beings to the goal of right status (wholehearted allegiance) before God. Likewise, the cultic sense is completing the hands of the priest by filling them with offerings. Thus, τελειοῦν does not develop any technical meanings in the LXX, but its meaning is dependent on the object and its goal.

Pseudepigrapha, DSS, and Philo

As noted above, Hebrews is rooted in the LXX, so the LXX forms the main linguistic background for consideration. However, we take a moment to note the use of τελειοῦν and, in the case of the DSS, the concept of perfection in the Pseudepigrapha, DSS, and Philo—texts representative of the Second Temple period.

Τελειοῦν is not used frequently in the Pseudepigrapha, occurring only five times: four times in *Letter of Aristeas* (195:5; 199:4; 307:4; 312:2) and one time in *The Testament of Abraham* (15:1). In each case, τελειοῦν is used formally describing God's bringing to completion the affairs of humans (*Let. Aris.* 195:5; 199:4), the completion of a translation (*Let. Aris.* 307:4), the accomplishment of a goal (*Let. Aris.* 312:2), and the completion of life—i.e., death (*T. Ab.* 15:1).[14]

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13 Several German scholars consider the LXX linguistic background as a parallel to the mystery religions' use of similar language for initiation or consecration into the religion. Windisch, *Hebräerbrief*, 47; Häring, "Grundgedanken," 260–76; Häring, "τελειοῦν," 386–89; cf. Moe, "Gedanke," 168; Dibelius, "Himmlische Kultus," 2:163–66. However, the mystery religions used τελεῖν and μυεῖν and not τελειοῦν to describe initiation. Thus, neither the LXX or mystery religions establish a direct linguistic connection between τελειοῦν and cultic consecration. For those who argue against the mystery religions as a linguistic background, see Riggenbach, "Τελείωσις," 188–90; Carlston, "Perfection," 134; Loader, *Sohn*, 48; Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 189.

14 In this case, τελειοῦν does denote death and not the post-death reality, since it is τὸ ἄμετρον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ ("the measure of his life") that is brought to completion. Similarly, τέλειος and τελείωσις are used primarily in the formal sense (*1 En.* 2:2; 10:14; 16:1; 18:16; 25:4; *3 Bar.* 12:6; *Apoc. Sedr.* 14:6; *Sib. Or.* 3:577; *T. Ab.* 13:4; 20:11; *T. Gad* 7:1; *T. Reu.* 6:8; *Let. Aris.* 11:9; 239:6; 255:7; 308:1), while τέλειος is used twice in the religious sense (*T. Jud.* 23:5; *Let. Aris.* 15:6) and once to denote an *unblemished* ram for sacrifice (*Sib. Or.* 3:577)—a use of τέλειος also common to the LXX (Exod 29:26, 27, 31; Lev 8:22, 29).

Philo makes extensive use of τέλειος (over 400 occurrences) and τελειοῦν (53 occurrences).[15] Frequently these terms are simply used formally to describe the completion of creation, maturation of a plant, or the pinnacle of reason.[16] Notable in Philo's use of these terms is a particular religious and soteriological sense. Philo considers the heavenly realm to be perfect; therefore, "one may attain perfection by entering it."[17] While entrance into the heavenly realm can occur through death (*Leg. All.* 3.45; cf. 4 Macc 7:15), Philo's main focus is on the entrance before God in the heavenly realm while already on earth. Through intellectual and ethical maturity, the virtuous can become τέλειοι and reach "unmediated access to God."[18]

Some scholars have drawn a parallel between Qumran's and Hebrews's conceptions of perfection.[19] The DSS reflect an expectation that covenant members would walk in perfection (להלכת תמים; CD I 20 – 21; 1QS I 8; III 9; IX 6), having been enabled by the spirit to live in accordance with God's perfect way (תום דרך; 1QS I 13; 1QH XII 29 – 33). However, the DSS's use of the adjective תמים, a word occasionally translated in the LXX with the adjective τέλειος, offers little significance to the linguistic background of the verb τελειοῦν, and, further, the concept of perfection in the DSS "seems to have little relationship to Hebrews."[20]

New Testament

Other than the uses of τελειοῦν in Hebrews, τελειοῦν is used in the New Testament predominantly "in a purely formal sense."[21] Τελειοῦν describes the completion of Jesus's messianic work (Luke 13:32; John 4:34; 5:36; 17:4), of Paul's ministry (Acts 20:24), of a feast (Luke 2:43), and of faith by works (James 2:22). It describes bringing love to its pinnacle (1 John 2:5; 4:12, 17; 4:18) and the fulfill-

15 Peterson, *Perfection*, 30.

16 For an exhaustive examination of the diverse uses of τέλειος and τελειοῦν in Philo, see Carlston, "Perfection," 133 – 60.

17 Ibid., 145.

18 Dey, *Patterns of Perfection*, 79 n. 14; similarly, Carlston, "Perfection," 145; Loader, *Sohn*, 48; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 84 – 85; Kurianal, *High Priest*, 222. For a list of texts, see Carlston, "Perfection," 145 nn. 494 – 97; Loader, *Sohn*, 48 nn. 6 – 10.

19 B. Rigaux, "Révélation des mystères et perfection à Qumrân et dans le Nouveau Testament," *NTS* 4 (1958): 237 – 62; Walters, *Perfection*, 83.

20 Attridge, *Hebrews*, 86; cf. Dey, *Patterns of Perfection*, 110.

21 Peterson, *Perfection*, 47.

ment of Scripture (John 19:28; similarly τελείωσις in Luke 1:45).[22] Philippians 3:12 is the only exception to the purely formal use,[23] where Paul states that he has not "already been made perfect [τετελείωμαι]." Τελειοῦν was likely used by Paul's opponents who claimed to have attained a salvation reality—likely the resurrection—that Paul himself had not yet attained.

The New Testament's use of τέλειος follows previously established patterns. In line with the formal usage, τέλειος denotes the "mature" and/or complete person (1 Cor 2:6; 14:20; Eph 4:13; Phil 3:15; Col 1:28; James 1:4) and describes that which is complete or ultimate (Rom 12:2; James 1:4, 17, 25; 1 John 4:18). In Matt 5:48 and 19:21, τέλειος is used with its religious sense, denoting a status before God. Matthew 5:48 quotes Lev 19:2 ("Be holy [קָדוֹשׁ; ἅγιος] because I, the LORD your God, am holy [קָדוֹשׁ; ἅγιος]") but uses τέλειος in place of ἅγιος. Similarly, in Matt 19:21, Jesus tells the rich man that, if he would be τέλειος, he must sell his possessions. In both of these Matthean passages, τέλειος includes the idea of acts of obedience; however, as in the LXX, the central idea of τέλειος is the condition of the heart, which those actions express. Finally, τέλειος in 1 Cor 13:10 may describe a future blessing or salvific reality.

Conclusion

This examination of the linguistic background of τελειοῦν demonstrates that τελειοῦν is used formally not only in Greco-Roman literature but also in Jewish and Christian literature,[24] and it generally means *to complete*, *to bring to an end*, or *to accomplish*. This examination has also provided a number of material applications standing in the semantic domain of τελειοῦν. Depending on the object and the implied goal, τελειοῦν can describe a religious status of wholehearted allegiance to God, a cultic ritual of completely filling a priest's hands, or the attainment of direct access to God in the heavenly realm (Philo). Thus, τελειοῦν does not adopt any technical meanings that can be imported on the text of He-

22 In addition, a participial form of τελειοῦν is used in John 17:23 as an attributive adjective meaning "completely."

23 Peterson also thinks Luke 13:32 is an exception, since "the consummation of Christ's messianic work by death is in view, and thus the perfecting of Christ himself as Messiah" (*Perfection*, 47).

24 Kögel, "Τελειοῦν im Hebräerbrief," 39; Peterson, *Perfection*, 23, 46–47, 66; Rissi, *Theologie des Hebräerbriefs*, 79; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 83–84; Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 190–91; Eisenbaum, "Suffering," 342–43; Kurianal, *High Priest*, 220; Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 163–70; McCruden, *Solidarity Perfected*, 5–6.

brews. "If the formal application of τελειοῦν suggests the notion of totality, completion, and accomplishment, then the material application conveys various kinds or qualities of completion."[25] The meaning of τελειοῦν in Hebrews depends on the determination of the material application of the formal meaning —i. e., the determination of the kind and quality of the completion.

25 McCruden, *Solidarity Perfected*, 6.

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